

GLEANINGS
FROM THE
Municipal
AND
Cathedral Records
RELATIVE TO THE HISTORY OF
The City of Exeter.

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The City of Exeter.

BY W. COTTON, Esq., F.S.A.,
— AND
THE VENERABLE HENRY WOOLLCOMBE,
Archdeacon of Barnstaple.

EXETER :
JAMES TOWNSEND, GANDY STREET.
1877.

“There be some who slight and despise this sort of learning, and represent it to be a dry, barren, monkish study: but I dare assure any wise and sober man that HISTORICAL ANTIQUITIES do deserve and will reward the pains of any English student. I wish the excellent parts of many other writers were not spent upon more frivolous arguments, where by subtleties, and cavils, and controverting quibbles, they serve only to weaken Christianity, and (what otherwise were pardonable) to expose one another.”—BISHOP KENNETT’S HISTORY OF KIDLINGTON, 1695.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PART I.—I. SIR HENRY RALEGH DE RALEGH, KNIGHT	5
II. THE WARS OF THE ROSES	11
III. PERKIN WARBECK	19
IV. THE SIEGE OF EXETER, 1549	47
V. EXETER DURING THE GREAT REBELLION	
PART I.	73
„ II.	113
„ III.	141
VI. ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS	185
VII. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, PROCLAMATIONS, &c.	199
PART II.—I. ON SOME OF THE ANCIENT MSS. AND CHARTERS IN THE CUSTODY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF EXETER	1
II. ON THE “EXETER DOMESDAY”	17

CORRIGENDA.

PART I., p 9, . 7 for . "crossed-legged" . read . "cross-legged."
12, 21 ,, . "our present" . ,, . "the then."
52, 33 insert . "of" . after . "made."
67, 33 for . "gnns" . read . "guns."
85, 20 insert . "which" . before . "threatened."
95, 10 for . "councils" . read . "counsels."
109, 8 insert . "being" . after . "which."

PART II., p. 9, note "£22 4s. 9d.," to this must be added "£11 6s. 6d.,"
making the total expended £33 11s. 3d., *i.e.*, about £100 at the present
value of money.

PART I.



SIR HENRY RALEGH DE RALEGH, KNIGHT.

(A FRAGMENT.)

In the choir of the south aisle of the Cathedral Church of Exeter, in recesses in the wall, are the recumbent effigies of two knights, cross-legged and armed *cap-a-pie*, their feet resting on lions. The one lying farthest eastward was doubtless erected by the second Countess of Devon to the memory of her father, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and the Cathedral being the burying place of the Courtenays, its presence here is intelligible. With this monument we have no particular concern, although it has an interesting history of its own. The other I propose to identify as being connected with an old story, the main features of which are still preserved to us, notwithstanding the great lapse of time. Britton in his 'Cathedral Antiquities' says that this effigy commemorates a knight of the Chichester family, called Sir Arthur, the Bishop's brother. Mr. King in his hand-book to the Cathedral, assigns it to a knight of the Chichester family. Jenkins writes that it was, according to tradition, erected to the memory of Raleigh de Raleigh; and Meyrick remarks, with an authority which cannot be questioned, that the effigy is of the time of Edward the First, and, further, that the flattened coiffe is said to have borne on the shield the arms of Raleigh, viz:—Gules a bend vairé, between six crosslets, or. Before all trace was obliterated these arms were seen and noted, and because they are borne by the Chichesters it was thought that the buried knight must have belonged to that family. The

arms are those of the old family of Raleigh, of Raleigh, in the parish of Pilton. The manor lies in the midst of a very picturesque country, to the north of the town of Barnstaple, but the mansion, commanding a charming prospect of the valley, through which runs the river Yeo, has long been used as a woollen mill. The family became extinct in the male line, and the estate passed to the female—the heiress marrying a Chichester, who adopted the arms of the Raleighs. I have not been able to discover the exact date when this took place, but it was long subsequent to the time, as fixed by Meyrick, when the monument was set up, for we find that in 1347 there was a John de Raleigh, named as a surety for the good behaviour of a youthful knight who had been getting rid of his superfluous energy in a murdering and burning raid on the Manor of Tawton, the property of the Church. It follows, therefore, that the Chichesters, not having adopted the arms of Raleigh until some considerable time after the effigy had been placed in the choir, and the arms on the monument having been identified with those which appear on the Chichester escutcheon *as derived from Raleigh*, that the recumbent figure commemorates a knight of the house of Raleigh, and not of Chichester. The question arises, how came this solitary Raleigh to be buried in the Cathedral? None of his family lie there, not even his connexions, so far as can be ascertained. The family vault would naturally be in Pilton Church or in the Chapel ‘*Sti Leonardi*,’ then on the Manor of Raleigh, where a perpetual chantry existed for the souls of William de Raleigh, knight, his progenitors and successors. It was, however, not unusual in the 13th century for persons of distinction to leave directions by will how and where they desired to be buried; but it is not likely that a man would direct his body to be interred in the Cathedral, a piece of presumption which the Dean and Chapter would not fail to resent by a decided refusal to listen to such a request. It is more than probable that this Raleigh was a crusader, and had fought against the Saracens under the banner of Prince Edward—a knight of the order of Templars or Hospitallers, a wanderer, holding his life in his hand, and familiar with the religious houses, in whatsoever country he might find himself, what more natural than

to express by will that wherever his body might fall, it should be buried in the church of the nearest monastery? The body of Humphrey de Bohun, represented by the fellow effigy, was so buried in the Dominican Convent at York, though the family place of sepulture was elsewhere—and the remains of this Raleigh finally found a similar resting place. I identify him as Sir Henry Raleigh of Raleigh, and his monument appears in the Cathedral as the result of a peculiar and exceptional circumstance. In the early part of the 13th century, the invasion of England by the Friars created a religious revolution. When their mission was understood, they were warmly welcomed by the people, to whom, for the first time, religion became a reality and a comfort, instead of, as it had hitherto appeared to them, at the hands of the ignorant clergy and the Mass-priest, a mystery clouded in gorgeous ceremonies and incomprehensible masses; the fees extorted for these being the only thing brought home clearly to the popular understanding. The Franciscan and Dominican Friars were soon established in Exeter. The former, known as the order of Grey Friars, had at first a house in Friernhay, but afterwards removed to the Friary, beyond the South Gate. The brethren of this order devoted themselves chiefly to visiting the sick and administering relief and religious consolation, especially in times of severe epidemics. The followers of Dominic were known as the Black Friars or the Preachers; their mission was to teach theology, and to preach the Gospel far and wide, in the street, at the fair, and in the market-place. The monastery and grounds occupied the site on which Bedford-circus is built, and the whole premises were surrounded by a wall. Close to the monastery was the Conventual Church, which Bishop Bronescombe dedicated on 26th November, 1259, and at the same time his lordship discovered the merits of the water, and the friars, as a personal favour, conveyed into his palace a continuous supply from the convent. The well-water in the Circus, to this day, maintains its reputation. In this church of the Black Friars, the dead body of Sir Henry Raleigh was laid out on a certain day, in the year 1301, awaiting interment; the brethren being of opinion that, whatever was necessary in the way of "post-mortem" religious

services could be properly and efficiently done by themselves. Not so, however, thought the Cathedral authorities. Whether it was jealousy of the popularity of the Friars, or only a question of fees, the capitular body angrily demanded that the body should be laid out in the Cathedral and masses said over it. The lawless and degraded state of the clergy in those days may be inferred from the circumstances attending the murder of the Precentor of the Cathedral, Walter Lochlade, who was, a few years previously, stabbed to death in the yard, as he was returning from mattins, in broad daylight. Four of the clergy, namely, John Pycot, a priest; John de Christener, Vicar of Heavitree; one Lucas, a priest of St. Leonard's; and John de Wolrington, Vicar of Ottery St. Mary, were, amongst others, suspected, and suspended from their several offices; admitting the homicide, they contrived to purge themselves of the crime, though it by no means follows that they were innocent of it. The Cathedral-yard at this time was a confused, irregular mass of soil, dotted over with mounds of dank, grass-grown graves—here the refuse and filth of the town were deposited, and, being the rendezvous of all the bad characters of the place, murders, brawls, and robberies were frequent. But when the body of Raleigh was lying in the convent church, a great improvement was apparent. The King, Edward the First, had visited Exeter, and, seeing the disgraceful state of the yard, granted a concession to the Dean and Chapter, by virtue of which they enclosed the ground within a high wall, having seven gates, which were closed at the tolling of the curfew bell. The names of some of these gates are preserved to this day, viz., Broad-gate, Palace-gate, Bear-gate, Little-stile, St. Martin's, and one which closed a passage through the church, (now disused) known as St. Petrock's-gate. There was also Erceneske or Bickleigh-gate, afterwards St. Catherine's-gate, which led into what is now known as Egypt-lane, and immediately opposite this gate was the door in the wall surrounding the premises of the Dominican Monastery. Finding that the friars declined to yield up the body of Sir Henry Raleigh—who, in his last will, desired that he should be buried in their church—the Dean and Chapter caused this door to be broken down, the body

forcibly extracted from the church, and conveyed to the Cathedral, where the usual ceremonies were performed over it. But when the body was taken back for the purpose of interment in the Convent Church, the friars barricaded the door, and refused to receive it, whereupon it was re-conveyed to the Cathedral, and there buried in the aisle of the south choir. The effigy of the crossed-legged knight marks the spot, and perpetuates the memory of the deceased, but his remains found but a temporary resting place there. The friars were not disposed to sit down quietly under the affront which they had received, and indicted the Dean and Chapter for the robbery of the body and other goods. It was usual, in those days, even in cases of felony, to hold an inquest, with a jury, and accordingly the case was so enquired into, and the verdict is preserved amongst the municipal records—Mayor's Court Roll, 29-30, Edward I. "The Prior and brethren of the friars' preachers allege that certain malefactors, unknown, broke the gate of the said prior, and carried away the body of Sir Henry de Ralegh, Knight, deceased, and other goods being in their church, to the value of £40, and they demand that inquiry shall be made concerning these matters. The jurors say that they know of no one who broke their door open, but that it has always been the custom, and also is arranged by special convention between the said friars and the Dean and Chapter, that when any layman shall die and shall have in his will chosen his sepulture at the said Priory, his body should be first carried to the Cathedral, and mass be there celebrated for his soul; and that when the body of the said Sir Henry de Ralegh lay at the church of the said Priory, in the custody of his executors, at the request of his friends it was taken, not by force and arms, but amicably, and, for the good of peace, to the Cathedral, with a cloth commonly called a "bandekyn" and a bier belonging to the said friars, which had been lent to the executors. The friars protested against the proceeding, and on the return from the Cathedral shut the gate of the Priory and would not permit the body to be buried in their Church, so that the executors were forced to take it back and bring it to the Cathedral, and would not receive back the cloth

and bier, but left them at the gate." From this verdict the friars appealed to the Pope, but in the meantime the body lay buried in the Cathedral, until, about two years afterwards a compromise was effected, and it was restored to the Conventual Church, and there found a final-resting place. Subsequent writers have mentioned this Church as the burying-place of the Raleghs, and other old families, and the information must have been derived from monumental records, so that it is not unlikely that a similar effigy to that in the Cathedral was therein erected to the memory of Sir Henry Ralegh.

In the Chapter Archives are the following documents :—

A.D. 1301.—Notarial Instrument setting forth the settlement of the dispute between the Friars' Preachers, of Exeter, and the Dean and Chapter concerning the funeral of Sir H. de Ralegh, Knt., and the custom of bringing all bodies into the Cathedral to the Mass, before they were buried elsewhere.

A.D. 1302-3.—Agreement between the Dean and Chapter and the Friars' Preachers, that the latter may remove the body of Sir H. de Ralegh. (2 seals.)

A.D. 1305.—Proceedings in a dispute between the Dean and Chapter and the Friars' Preachers, of Exeter, respecting the rights of sepulture and the burial of the body of Sir Henry de Ralegh, A.D. 1305. Seal defaced.





THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

Under the fifth Henry the men of Devonshire fitted out a powerful squadron to aid the King's fleet sent against the hereditary foes of the nation—the French—who were endeavouring to raise the siege of Harfleur. The Devonshire squadron led the van under Lords Courtenay and Carew, and the result of the battle was the total destruction of the French fleet. The loyalty and devotion displayed on this occasion was, with the characteristic constancy of the city, continued to the son, for when the sixth Henry sent his royal mandate at the time of the Jack Cade rebellion, the citizens flew to arms, repaired their walls, scoured their ditches, and stood ready to hold the city, for their King, against all comers. The following year Henry visited his capital of the West, and for eight days was entertained with great magnificence by the joint efforts of the Cathedral and the City authorities, taking up his residence at the Palace with his old friend Bishop Lacy. Less than ten years after this visit the decisive battle of Towton field was fought, and Henry lost his crown. The accession of Edward IV. to the throne of England brought about a state of things, in the politics of the latter half of the fifteenth century, perplexing in their inconsistencies. A most trustworthy source of information in regard to local history is to be found in the Receiver's Accounts. They merely furnish a record of money payments, the details sometimes scant and petty, yet they indicate much to guide the student in history and give the stamp of accuracy to his deductions. Almost the first entry in the Receiver's Account at the commencement of Edward's reign is "four gallons of wine sent to Lord Stafford at the

'Newynne,' 3s. 4d." The Corporation at the same time gratified an evident weakness for apples. Fitzwarren, Dynham, and others, adherents of the Lancastrian cause, were also presented with wine at divers times. Lord Stafford resided at Shute, he was erroneously relied upon as one of the trustworthy followers of Edward, who made him Earl of Devon, the title having been denied to the Courtenays, and in abeyance since the death of the seventh Earl, who suffered in the cause of Henry, after the disastrous battle of Towton. A tun of wine was presented to the new Earl "*primo tempore quo fuit Comes Devon*," at a cost of 86s. 8d., and 2s. more for conveying it to the Friars Preachers' house, where doubtless it was speedily consumed. Immediately after there is an entry for 51 yards of red cloth given to 30 soldiers riding with Humphrey, Earl of Devon, on 5th July, towards the King—27½ yards at 13d.=29s. 9½d.; 23½ yards at 14d.=27s. 5d. Thirty tall men, Hoker tells us, well furnished, were provided for him by the city, to go to the north and fight against Henry, whose cause the city favoured, and before the Earl departed he was "very honorablye interteyned." This seems somewhat inconsistent, and is only explainable by assuming that our present municipal authorities were acquainted with, and connived at the treachery which followed. This Earl of Devon, with a fine company of 800 archers, joined the Earl of Pembroke at Banbury, and scarcely had the battle of Edgerow commenced, when, at a critical moment, he, with all his men, fled from the field, threw the army into confusion, and was thus the cause of the defeat of his supposed party, the Yorkists. Holinshed attributes the defection to a dispute with Lord Pembroke about a "damosel;" be that as it may, this spurious Lord Devon never raised an arm for his King, and the Royalist party hunted the traitor down, and beheaded him at Taunton. It has been assumed that because the city and the Earls of Devon were always at variance on local matters, there would exist a difference of opinion in respect of the claims to the throne. Taking the opportunity of the Earldom being in abeyance and held by the King, the Corporation in 1462 petition for a restitution of their rights and jurisdiction in the suburb without West-gate, which had been

withheld from them by the Earls of Devon. "And whereas the water of the Exe from Exmouth to Cowley Bridge ought to be common to the inhabitants of the said city to fish in, and to have course and recourse with their boates, vessells, shyppes, and marchandise," they pray for an inquiry into their claims.

However sore may have been the local disputes, produced by the divided authority of the Earls of Devon and the city, in national questions there is abundaut evidence to shew that there was no antagonism.

Another local worthy, the Duke of Exeter, was a prominent and unwavering supporter of the Lancastrian faction, and perished miserably in its cause. His Duchess comes in for her share of the good things, being on the right side. She has presented to her three gallons of red and white wine, at 8d.=2s.; a gallon of Tyre, 16d.; a salmon, 3s. 4d.; eels, 2s.; crabbys, 16d. "Item in Bunnys pro eadem Domina cum vino et saffryn pro eisdem Bunnys faciendo, 17d."

Six marks worth of wine is also given to George Nevil, who was Bishop of Exeter before he was twenty years of age, Lord Chancellor of England five years later, and Archbishop of York before he was thirty.

It would appear that Margaret, Queen of Henry VI., came to Exeter when the conspiracy of the Earl of Warwick to dethrone Edward was being concocted. There is an entry "for two bottles of wine given to John Fortescue before the coming of Margaret, formerly Queen, and "xls ex dono." In connexion with this conspiracy Hugh Courtenay had two gallons of wine when the letter of the King and Clarence was sent to find armed men against the rebels with the Earl of Warwick, and another two gallons when, in reply, Courtenay wrote a letter to the King's Chamberlain asking that the city might be excused. Clarence shortly after turned round and joined the Earl of Warwick, and raised the standard of insurrection, but they soon had to fly and took refuge in the city of Exeter. The Duchess of Clarence came first, and was lodged in the Bishop's Palace. She was accompanied by Lords Fitzwarren and Denham, and Baron Carew and a thousand fighting men. Poor Bishop

Booth was so scared that he fled to a quiet retreat in Hampshire, and never returned to his Diocese. The Duchess at once received the attentions of the Corporation—one bottle of Malmsey at her coming—a delicate attention to the well-known taste of her husband. She also had, at different times during her stay, two gallons of must, 20d.; two gallons of wine, 16d.; fish given her by order of the Mayor and his fellows, 3s. 9d.; a gallon of Tyre, 16d.; two gallons of red wine, 16d.; two gallons of white wine, 16d.; apples, 10d.; a gallon of Tyre, 16d.; a potell of Malmesey, 8d.; and two gallons of red wine, 16d. “Sir Hugh, rather Sir William Courtenay,” Hooker says, apparently scandalized at the irregular proceedings of this fusion of partisans from either faction, demanded the keys of the city on behalf of King Edward, but the Mayor preferred to keep them himself, and refused to give them up to either party. Sir Hugh then laid siege to the city, but he could not have been much in earnest, for he was easily persuaded to abandon it and leave the party at the Palace in peace. It was nearly three weeks before the Duke of Clarence and Earl Warwick arrived, and they had to wait some days until shipping could be got ready at Dartmouth, “which assone as it was yu readynes they and their wyffes and whole company roade to Dartmouth, and there imbarqued themselves for Calys.”

The feeling of the people in these parts is indicated by the circumstance of their escape being facilitated. It was no light undertaking in those days to get ready shipping to convey a thousand persons at a few days notice. And not a moment too soon, for ten days after the arrival of Clarence came Edward with forty thousand men, “but the byrdes were flown and gone away.”

The King being here, he would see the city, and the Mayor made great preparation, ordering every citizen and freeman “being of habilitie” to prepare himself a “gowne of the citie’s liverie” (then red), and meet the King. Four hundred citizens obeyed the order, and without the Southgate His Majesty was received. Mr. Dowrish, the Recorder, made an oration, the keys of the city and the maces were given up and a purse containing

one hundred marks was presented to the King, and not refused. Next day being Sunday, Royalty paraded itself in the Cathedral Yard to the edification of the people. It must not be inferred from this demonstration that there was any sympathy for the White Rose party; the Mayor knew well enough that the King could not be blind to recent events, and there were forty thousand reasons outside the city why his worship should be exceedingly civil. All this occurred in the spring of 1470, and in the following September Warwick and Clarence, with all their retinue, returned from France and landed, some at Plymouth, some at Dartmouth, and some at Exmouth, "but all mett at this citie, and from hense they all departed and marched towards London," proclaiming Henry King in every town.

Hooker in his MSS. has the following:—"I fynde it written yn an old and an annient annuall of this citie that this yere ther was one John an Erle of Devon, who or what he was it doth not appere; but a comysion was dyrected and sent from the Kinge to the Mayer and Comaltie yn the behalff of the Erle * * * but the wryter is mystaken in the name, for if it be ment of the Erle of Devon, then hys name at this tyme was Thomas: but if it be ment of John then it was Holland, Duke of Exeter, whose name was John, and he abyding and dwelling yn Devon."

For once Hooker is wrong—it was John, a young scion of the House of Courtenay, who was restored to the Earldom of Devon immediately on the accession of Henry. Thomas perished at Towton ten years before, and there had been no Earl of Devon created in the interval, except Humphrey Stafford, the traitor. To confirm this there is an entry in the accounts at this date of four bottles of wine and one of Tyre given "Comiti Devon in present principis, 3s. 4d.; et eidem Comiti apud Blackfreres, 3s. 4d."

The result of Warwick's invasion was that Edward fled, and Henry was taken out of prison and once more set on the throne. "King Edward," Hooker tells us, "by sounde of Trumpett was proclaymed usurper: but this contynewedd a very short time. In theise troblesome tymes the Mayer and his brethren, doubting the sequel thereof to be order for the saeff kepinge of the citie, and therefore dyd apoynte a garde by the daye and a watche by

the night of men well apoynted for keping of the gates. And continually they had always espyals abroad yⁿ every coaste and quarter for understandinge and knowinge how all things happened. And before this they were dryven to geve goode contenans and interteynements to bothe parties comyng severally to this citie so now that King Henry was restored It was ordered that for the keping of his favor and good will that Richard Clarke, the Receiver, should defraye xx*l.* in golde and present the same unto the Queene and to the Prince, her sonne." It does not, however, look quite so impartial of the authorities when we find an entry showing that considerable expense was incurred for red cloth and black trimmings and furniture for twenty soldiers to go to Exmouth, doubtless to meet Queen Margaret, who was expected to land there. And why the anxiety in sending Thomas Bond, "versus Dartmouth," to find out as to the expected arrival of the Duchess of Clarence? There are entries, at this feverish time, constantly occurring of charges for men exploring in different directions, even as far as Leicester.

The poor Queen was not permitted to be with her husband in his prosperity. Baffled by contrary winds, she could not land at Weymouth until after Edward had returned to England and regained his position at the battle of Barnet. On the morrow of that fatal day Margaret came to Exeter, and with undaunted courage sought by one supreme effort to retrieve the fortunes of her husband. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earl of Devon, and all the chief men of the county gathered together "a goodlye arraye of lustie and good soyldiers," and with all the power and strength of the country "marched forth, and yⁿ the ende they came to Tewkesbury, where they encountered and waxed the battell by Kinge Edward, and lost the felde." This was the final blow to the Lancastrian party, and the interest in the contest felt by the city appears in numerous entries, clearly showing on which side lay the sympathies of the citizens. Thomas Bray was sent on horseback to Tewkesbury to find out who were about the King, at a cost of 10*s.* On the return from the fight Henry Bodringan has four bottles of wine "post campum Tewkesbury." Richard Edgecomb "ex dono 1*xs.*"

One bottle of Malmesey and one bottle of Tyre are given to Peter Courtenay "*quando revenit domi et eidem ex dono vi. marca,*" and at the same time two bottles of wine to Lady Elizabeth Courtenay, and "*ex dono xls.*"

The Duke of Clarence, it will be remembered, saved his head by deserting the cause of Henry, and going over, with 12,000 men, at the battle of Barnet, to the other side. A born conspirator, he was utterly untrustworthy, and perhaps it was not wholly unjustifiable of Edward to require him, as Hooker says, to make "*hys buriall yn a butt of Malmesey.*" He was down at Tiverton the following year in the company of such staunch Lancastrians as Lord Dynham, Fitzwaryn, Master Peter Courtenay, Philip Courtenay, and Henry Bodringam and his wife, hatching conspiracies, doubtless, at the Castle where Earl Devon resided. We find the authorities of Exeter again flirting with treason. A man on horseback is despatched to Tiverton to enquire of the "*Senescallus Hospicii*" of the Duke of Clarence, whether it will better please his grace to have a gift of wine sent to Tiverton, or to receive it at Exon. Then a tun of wine is forwarded for the use of the party at Tiverton, the cost, £4 13s. 4d. Two oxen are also sent to Tiverton to the Duke, their value being 51s. 8d; the expense of sending them, 26d.; and the hay for feeding them, 2d.; and there is a charge for a messenger twice to the Recorder, Thomas Dowrysh, to ask his advice concerning a letter received by the Mayor from the Duke of Clarence. It was about this time that Henry "*dyed or, as some wryte, was murdered in the Tower.*" A year or two subsequently Clarence was again in Exeter, with the Lancastrian Duchess of Exeter, and wine was sent to both, but this was his last visit, for not long afterwards he was drowned, as we know, in a butt of Malmesey wine.

King Edward's feeling towards the city, when he had made himself secure of the throne, is shown in an extract from Hooker's MSS. :—"The King having gotten the victory over all his enemies bethincketh hymself nowe upon suche as were adversaries or had succored and taken pte with theym and being advertyzed both of succors and of monyes geven and contributed unto them out of this citie waxed verie angrye, and was of the

mynde to have benne revenged thereof untill he was advertized and pacyfied."

With the exception of the demonstration at the time of Edward's visit, out of fear rather than favour, there is nothing whatever to show the least partiality for the cause of York. On the contrary there is much that leads us to conclude that Exeter and the West were in favour of the Lancastrian claims and supported the cause of the Red Rose faction.





PERKIN WARBECK.

Towards the close of the 15th century, this country, having enjoyed a period of comparative tranquility and contentment after the distracting Wars of the Roses, was disturbed by the appearance of a claimant of no common magnitude, for he claimed nothing less than the throne of England.

Perkin Warbeck is connected with Exeter by circumstances of considerable interest. It was the first place to which he laid siege, and although he failed, he subsequently did come to Exeter, an unwilling captive, and here was brought about the climax of his adventurous career.

It is necessary, in order to make our story complete, to go back to the time when occurred that remarkable and tragic incident which stands out conspicuously in the pages of English history, a tragedy which has enlisted the sympathies of generations, and which is known wherever the English language is spoken—the murder of the Princes in the tower.

The spasm of horror which shot through the heart of England when the news was spread abroad that the boy-King Edward V. and his little brother, Richard of York, had been sacrificed to strengthen the usurper uncle's position, seems to have left its trace indelibly impressed upon all succeeding generations, and the sad tale is inextricably interwoven with our national history.

There is a completeness, too, about the story, which adds to its pathetic interest, and its truth and accuracy remain, after four centuries, unchallenged; not even the most ardent apologist for Richard of Gloucester having been able to explain away one single incident in the tragic drama.

Impostors appeared during the subsequent reign, pretending that the Princes had been secretly conveyed away and still survived, and there were not those wanting in high places, who, from political or personal motives, lent support to these pretensions; but the impostures were in every case completely exposed, and their effect, to some extent, was to confirm the original story.

Richard III. was crowned King of England on 6th July, 1483. He represented the House of York, and was supported by the faction of the White Rose. Henry, Earl of Richmond, was the acknowledged head of the House of Lancaster and the Red Rose party. In the pride of his nature, Richard compelled many of the leading Lancastrians to take part in the coronation ceremony—Margaret the mother of Henry was mortified at being compelled to support the train of the usurper's Queen, and Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter was there, an unwilling spectator. The Courtenays were conspicuous adherents of the Red Rose, and, notably, two successive Earls of Devon had fallen in the cause of Lancaster, on the fields of Towton and Losecoat, respectively.

Two months later, Richard had the ceremony of his coronation repeated at York, and whilst there, news reached him of a formidable confederacy which had been organized in the Western parts, and of which the Marquis of Dorset and the Courtenays were prominent members. On the 18th October, Henry, the young Earl of Richmond, was proclaimed King in this city. The influence of the Courtenays, at this time, was such that the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall flocked to their standard at the first call. The danger was great, and Richard hastened with a strong force from York to encounter the rising. Arriving at Salisbury, the Duke of Buckingham, his former intimate, was betrayed into his hands, and beheaded in the market-place. Proceeding westward, he found on his approach to Exeter that the confederacy, hastily formed and prematurely exposed, had melted away, and that the Courtenays and other leaders had fled across the channel, to the friendly shelter of France.

It is probable that the Corporation and Citizens of Exeter would not unwillingly have seen the abortive attempt to supersede Richard carried to a successful issue, and it is certain that many

were implicated in the conspiracy. How far Mr. John Atwill, the Mayor, and his brethren had committed themselves, we are not in a position to determine, but judging from the wonderful preparations they made to receive a King who could not be otherwise than detested, it is to be inferred that they were troubled with qualms of conscience, not to say apprehension.

The first of the royal party to approach the city was the messenger who brought the commission of the King, and he, we find by the Receiver's Accounts, was presented with the sum of 5s., a man being sent on with the commission to Sir Thomas Bodregan, High Sheriff of Cornwall, at a cost, to the city, of 40d. Then came the Bishop of York, and his lordship was regaled with twenty-pennyworth of wine. The next arrival was Lord Scrope, the Commander of the Forces, whose dinner cost the city 13s. 4d. At length the coming of Richard was announced, and Mr. Recorder Hext putting on his new gown, purchased for the occasion at a cost of £2 2s., proceeded with the Corporation, escorted by six dozen soldiers, clothed in red and black, to some little distance beyond the East-gate, and there, with what feelings we may imagine, they first beheld the cold lean countenance of the King, and met the glance of his cruel eyes.

An original portrait of * Richard III. is still extant, and whether it is the association of the man, in one's mind, with deeds of violence, or its own repulsive expression, it is a face calculated to create an impression not easily shaken off.

The position of the Corporation was all the more trying in that they were entirely unsupported by the county gentry, who were conspicuous by their absence, and this circumstance would certainly not tend to sweeten the temper of the unamiable monarch.

However, the Mayor was perhaps consoling himself with the anticipated effect of a present of 200 nobles, which he had ready; and the Recorder at once opened the proceedings with a congratulatory address. We are told that he could not say much in praise of the King's virtues, but his words were directed to

* At the Society of Antiquaries.

softening his resentment, and many of the citizens betrayed the part they had been taking, by supporting the action of the Recorder.

The speech, supplemented by the present of 200 nobles, had the desired effect, and his majesty suffered himself to be conducted to the Bishop's Palace; here he was supplied with wine to the value of £12; and my Lord Scrope, besides several bottles of wine on his own account, had a pipe, value 40s., presumably for his retainers, to say nothing of a salmon, which must have been dear to have cost the sum of 3s.; but what can be expected of salmon in October?

The only members of the confederacy remaining in Exeter were Sir John St. Leger, who being the brother-in-law of the King, probably counted upon his clemency—and Thomas Rame, Sir John's Esquire—but the King was true to his nature, and provided for himself a characteristic entertainment. Before the door of the Guildhall these two men were beheaded.

The City Receiver's Accounts at the time bring the ghastly spectacle vividly before us. "The watch in the hall, during the King's stay in the city, paid three men for watching those who were beheaded before the door of the same hall." "Bread and service the same night"—"Candles"—"Fire"—and "the making of a Scaffold." For each of these items a charge appears in the account.

The King seems to have made the most of his time whilst staying in Exeter. A new pillory was erected, new posts and bars were put up at all the gates, and two hundred pounds of gunpowder brought in. Royal messengers were employed in different directions, one on horseback to Newton Bushel, whose expenses, 8d., may be considered moderate. Another, however, who was engaged for five days, rode his horse to death, which the city had not only to pay for, but had to provide a better one; the first was valued in 33s. 4d., the other cost £2 6s. 8d.

Before his departure Richard naturally paid a visit to the Castle, and according to Hooker was marvellously well pleased at its strength and position, and the fair prospect therefrom. Shakespeare has dramatised an incident which is said to have

taken place on this occasion. The Mayor was asked the name of the Castle, and his worship more at home with his native Devonian than with the Gallic tongue promptly answered, "Ridgemont." Thereupon, Hooker says, "the King was sodenly fallen yn to a greate dumpe." The dramatist supplies the reason :—

King Richard.—"Richmond! When last I was at Exeter
The Mayor, in courtesy, shew'd me the Castle
And called it Rougemont : at which name I started ;
Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond."

Two years, however, elapsed—years of anguish, suspicion, and at last of racking remorse, before the prophecy was fulfilled. He was not long allowed to bear his ill-won honours ere the spirit of a righteous retribution was visited upon him. A few months after his stay in Exeter, his only son, upon whom he lavished all the affection his nature was capable of, died, after a short illness, and just as his father had completed arrangements for his succession to the throne. Richard, we are told, was almost mad with grief, and his sufferings were most acute. In the following year his wife died, and on the day of her death there was a total eclipse of the sun. The superstitious feeling, common at the time, of course, set this down to something more than a strange coincidence.

About this time the Chapel of St. George was built over the Guildhall, and the first portico erected, the original of the one which now projects over the side way, this latter having been re-edified in 1592. Peter Styling was the carpenter employed, and his contract for the work, amounting to 50 marks, was duly sealed with the "yarne" or earnest penny. John Drake, of Thorverton, and John Randall, freemasons, undertook the mason's work for £38, but, beyond the agreement, they were paid at several times 23s., 40s., £5, and 10 marks. John Hoigge covered the roof of the Chapel with lead at a cost of £8 13s. 4d.; three vanes were fixed, and the bell which now surmounts the Guildhall was first suspended with a wheel bound in iron, the whole work occupying six August days. *

* The Rev. H. T. Ellicombe writes to me :—" Referring to what you say about
D²

In connexion with this Chapel and the Corporation there appears to have been a religious or social Guild, for in the accounts is a payment to the "Principal and others for 'exequis' and masses said in the Chapel of the Guildhall for the repose of the souls of the brothers and sisters of the fraternity of St. George." One would like to know something more of this interesting Society, the existence of which appears to have been unknown to our local historians.

Towards the end of the reign of Richard the times were exciting. It is not improbable that the people in these parts,—those in the secret at all events—through intelligence in the possession of the Courtenays, knew more about the movements of Henry, Earl of Richmond, than did the King himself. That some movement was anticipated and anxiety felt is shown in the desire for news. A Welshman is sent out by the Mayor to explore for news. Again, John Cofyn goes on horseback to Bristol for news, and apparently brings back some. Four dozen white linen jackets are provided for as many soldiers, who are regaled with "Ruiney," at the request of the Mayor, as they go forth from the city under Lord Hurmond, who for his share has a bottle of Malmesey wine.

Then comes a remarkable proceeding—four hundred gunstones are made and conveyed to the roof of the Guildhall, whereon is mounted a gun, with John Croker, soldier, in charge, and sixteen soldiers are provided for the city.

Did the Corporation propose to take a side in the impending struggle? Was it a precautionary measure for maintaining the peace of the city? Or did they valiantly intend to uphold municipal rights against all assaults? Walter Courtenay came home about this time, and was presented with two bottles of wine, apparently *because* he came home. He could have told us all about it, but we are not likely ever to learn more than the

the Guildhall bell, Mr. Stuart Moore found an entry that it was bought in 1464 for 33s. 4d. of one William Dicker. That may be, but I believe it is of earlier date, and the work of Robert Norton, a bell-founder in Exeter, temp. Henry VI." The inscription on the bell, with the initial cross, is:

"† Cœli Regina me protege queso ruina."

bare record vouchsafes us, that, for some reason, our Guildhall was fortified.

It must have been known in Exeter about this time that Richmond, with a petty force of 2,000 men, had landed at Milford Haven, and was marching to meet his formidable foe. Were the sympathies of our city with that little band? And were those white coated soldiers, who went forth from our gates, destined to take part in the final triumph of the Lancastrian faction?

We know how Richmond's force grew as it advanced, and how it was fed by the defection of his great opponent's adherents (yet still, in numbers, fell far short of that army which he had to encounter), and that at length it reached the famous field of Bosworth. The dramatic account of the night before the battle, as it was passed by the rival competitors for the throne, is not far removed from the facts as they appear in authentic records. "The agitations of anxious mind, or the secret agencies of diseased nature shook the frame of Richard. Figures of black shapes, like demons, arose in his dreams, and moved round him and would not suffer him to rest."

Ghost (to K. Rich.)—"Dream on thy cousins smother'd in the tower ;

Let us be lead within thy bosom Richard,

And weigh thee down to ruin, shame and death !

Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair and die !"

—Richard III., Act v., Scene 3.

He awoke before daylight, exhausted, terrified, and unmanned. Before the battle he swore, "that from the town of Lancaster to Shrovesberye, knight ne squire, he wold leave none alyve : and he wold deal theyr lands to his knyghtes from the Holyhead to St. David's land. Where are castles and towers high, I shall make parks and plain fields. They shall all repent, that ever he rose against his King."

Richmond rested tranquilly that night.

"Sleep Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake in joy ;

Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy !

Live and beget a happy race of Kings !

Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish !

—Richard III., Act v., Scene 3.

In the morning he rode from rank to rank through his army, giving comfortable words to all ; and then ascending a small hill near, armed in all pieces but his helmet, he addressed the whole line. His countenance was animated ; his yellow hair like burnished gold, flowed gracefully about his quick, gray shining eyes ; and his loud voice echoing round them in a bold tone and easy eloquence, conveyed to them his declaration of his trust in heaven and victory ; his indignant exposition of Richard's unnatural cruelty, and his appeal to heaven for triumph, as they came to avenge murder. He ended—"Get this day the victory, and be conquerors—lose this day's battle, and be slaves. In the name of the Supreme then and of St. George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard."

For Richard the hour of retribution had come. Deserted by his followers, betrayed by his friends, he fell fighting desperately at the battle of Bosworth field, and his body stripped and besmeared with blood and dirt, was thrown across a horse and carried off and buried without honour. A chronicler has remarked that he must have fallen on the very spot where, on the same day of the month, three years previously, he received tidings of the murder of his nephews. The battered crown was placed by Sir William Stanley on Richmond's head, and, on the field of his triumph, he was saluted King, Henry the Seventh.

The fall of Richard and the assumption of the Crown by Henry was received by the people with feelings of general satisfaction. Some respite was looked for from the continual warfare which had been for so many years carried on between the contending factions. In the early part of Henry's reign, this hope was realized by his marriage with the daughter of Edward IV., and thus, by the union of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, the Wars of the Roses were ended for ever. The Earl of Devon subsequently married the youngest daughter of Edward IV., and so became closely connected, by marriage, with Henry. The adherents of the house of York had been terribly thinned in their ranks at Bosworth and in other destructive battles, and almost all the leaders had been swept away—it was owing to this that the irreconcilable faction, which still clung

to the cause, could only rally the worshippers of the White Rose by setting up impostors, under pretence of their being some missing member of the defeated house. Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV., and the inveterate foe of the house of Lancaster, was always ready to support any one who chose to become inimical to Henry. It was she who fostered the dangerous conspiracy of Simnel, and afterwards encouraged the imposture of Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV., and the younger of the Princes who were murdered in the tower, and consequently the rightful King of England. His story was, that having been delivered to a certain lord to be killed, his intended executioner had compassion on his innocence, and conveyed him away secretly to Portugal, where he remained until he had reached man's estate, and thence sailed to Ireland, where he was recognized by Earls Desmond and Kildare, and by many others. The Duchess of Burgundy, a devoted member of the house of York, espoused his cause, and by dint of political intrigue, contrived to obtain for him the support of some of the crowned heads of Europe, glad of an instrument to play off against Henry. For many years the impostor was a source of annoyance to the King, and of disquiet to the nation, which was the more irritating as there seemed no probability of matters being brought to an issue.

The King for some time affected to treat Perkin's proceedings with contempt, although using every endeavour to get him into his power. At length the impostor adopted a bold policy, which for a time succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations, though it was but a prelude to his speedy downfall. He went to King James, of Scotland, and, obtaining an audience, laid his case before him. The King believed him to be the real Duke of York, and favoured his cause—so much so that he bestowed upon him, in marriage, his near relation, the beautiful Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley.

Perkin's stay at the Scottish Court was not, however, of long duration. A hint from King Henry had the effect of inducing James to get rid of his protégé, which was accomplished in a friendly way, though with manifest reluctance on the part of the guest.

Accompanied by his wife and a slender retinue, Perkin embarked and sailed for Cork, where he arrived on the 26th July, and met with a very cold, not to say hostile, reception.

The recent rebellion of the Cornishmen, which resulted in the battle of Blackheath and the dispersion of the rebels, appears to have been mainly excited by the imposition of obnoxious taxes, to defray the cost of the warlike operations in which the King was constantly engaged. The manner of collecting and disposing of these subsidies is disclosed in some interesting letters from the King to the Dean and Chapter, now amongst the Chapter records. One letter states that certain Commissioners have been appointed "to receive of our subjects within our see of Devon and Cornwall such sums of money growing of their goods as for many great and urgent causes were lately granted unto us by authority of our High Court of Parliament the which money we have of singular trust appointed to remain in your ward in our Monastery there for a season." Another letter wills and commands the Dean and Chapter to make plain deliverance of all the money resting in their keeping into the hands of the Sheriff of Devon to be conveyed to the King. Another desires that all the money in hand or that hereafter shall come unto the same, be delivered to our right trusty and well-beloved cousin the Earl of Devon.

Notwithstanding their defeat, the spirit of disaffection was not stamped out of the bold Cornishmen, and Perkin's advisers suggested a descent upon their shores, with the hope of exciting a rising in his favour.

His intentions appear to have been well known, for they were communicated to the King by the Mayor of Waterford, and Henry, in reply, thanks him heartily for his good offices, and urges him to send out ships to sea to capture Perkin should he attempt to sail with an expedition, offering at the same time 1,000 marks if it should be successfully accomplished. Waterford did send out ships in pursuit, but they failed in their mission, for on 7th September Perkin Warbeck landed at Whitsand Bay, which is just beyond Plymouth Sound, on the Cornish Coast.

Proceeding to Bodmin, the discontent of the people made them ready listeners to the specious promises held out to them, and

some three thousand were persuaded to rally to the standard of the impostor. He associated with himself three men of obscure origin; Heron, a bankrupt mercer, Skelton, a tailor, and Astley, a scrivener, and by their advice marched forth with his little army towards Exeter. His followers increased in number as he proceeded, and by the time he had arrived outside the walls of the city, he found himself at the head of ten thousand men, "with not one gentleman amongst them." Although the King, by establishing posts, (that is men stationed at certain intervals to convey news swiftly through the country) was kept well informed of the movements of the enemy, the progress of the rebels was more rapid than expected, and their appearance before the walls of Exeter was somewhat of a surprise.

Perkin landed at Whitsand Bay on the 7th September, and on Sunday, the 17th of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon, having obtained a parley, he was endeavouring, with the persuasive eloquence which was natural to him, to induce the citizens to espouse the cause of King Edward's son. So sudden and unexpected was the appearance of the rebel hosts, that the city was invested before the news of the rising could be spread abroad in the country districts, so that men had to be let down with ropes from the walls to summon the followers of the gentry to their assistance; but the Earl of Devon, the Courtenays, Croker and Fulford hurried up in hot haste and had already, by some means, gained entrance to the city without waiting for their tenantry.

Unprepared, with but scanty means of defence, without soldiers and with nothing to rely on but their own strong arms and resolute hearts, the faithful citizens refused all the overtures of the impostor. They closed their gates, manned the walls, and prepared to defend their city to the last. Perkin knew that every hour was of consequence to him and his army, for the Royal forces were on the march, and before long all the country would be up, so that unless he gained some speedy and substantial advantage his cause was lost. He decided at once to try to take the city by storm. The first assault was directed upon the North-gate, which was burned down, and the assailants

passed through. The defenders in that steep and narrow way would have a great advantage over the attacking party, and although the citizens were few in number they succeeded in routing their opponents, and drove them back beyond the walls.

Foiled in the first attempt the rebels brought all their strength to bear against the East-gate, which they broke down, and in great numbers forced their way through. A desperate hand to hand encounter took place within the gate, and for a time it seemed as though the stubborn spirit of the defenders would have to yield to the superior numbers of the lusty Cornishmen, for they had made good their way as far as Castle Street. Earl Devon staying at the house of the Black Friars, situate where Bedford Circus now is, heard the sounds of conflict, and with his gallant son, Sir William Courtenay, and such few others as were about him, ran forth to the fray; passing up Bampfylde street, then known as Raden lane, the Earl was wounded in the arm by an arrow, but nothing daunted (all the more eagerly, Hooker says) he pressed forward and fell upon the left flank of the enemy with all the strength of his little band. For a time the battle was "verie hote and fierie," but at length, the courage and spirit of the citizens prevailed, the rebels were beaten, and forced back to their own lines.

No attempt was made to restore the gates. Just within the opening huge bonfires were kept alive, so that the movements of the enemy might be observed by night, and behind these stood the surest rampart that could be found, the unyielding bodies of the brave defenders.

Next day a fresh attempt was made upon the North-gate, but by this time guns had been mounted and brought to bear upon the besiegers; no sooner had fire been opened upon them, than Perkin saw that his case was hopeless, and gave up the struggle, asking as a favour that he might be allowed to depart without molestation. With diminished numbers, he reached Cullumpton that same night, and thence proceeded to Taunton, when he found that the desertions from his standard had become so numerous, that he fled from Taunton on the following Thursday (21st), and took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest.

A letter from King Henry to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, dated three days after the battle, says that in these assaults Perkin lost three or four hundred of his company, and Lord Devon writes that the losses of the citizens were few, not one in twenty of those of the enemy.

The disproportion was owing in a great measure to the citizens being better armed, Henry having early in his reign ordered that every able-bodied man in Exeter should be well found in arms and armour, whilst the motley crowd which followed Perkin would have picked up the first thing in the shape of a weapon which came to hand.

The extent of the damage done by the rebels in their operations against the city gates may be gathered from the accounts paid by the Receiver for repairs; the particulars may not be without interest as showing the price of labour and materials:—

	£	s.	d.
For "bordys" bought of John Lake for the East-gate	0	2	3
Paid John Holland for four days and a half	0	2	4
And for other workmen for four days and a half	0	7	6
One man for a day and a half	0	0	9
One man for a day and a half	0	0	7
For the cartage of fourteen loads of material from Friernhay to South-gate	0	0	13
For rods and iron	0	0	6
Three workmen for three days	0	3	9
Two workmen for three days and a half	0	4	2
Paid John Coke for three dozen and eight loads of clay	0	1	9
Same for fourteen dozen and eight loads of gravel and stones	0	7	4
Paid John Honyland for himself for one week	0	3	0
Other men working together at same work	0	2	6
One man "pro le rydding de le rebells" four days	0	1	4
Frederick Kyrkhem for two cartloads of material	0	9	0
For one bolt and two staples	0	0	2
For one hundred and a half of hatch nails	0	0	8½
For one "haps," one "kacche," and one "lacche"	0	0	4
For one rest and one ring	0	0	3
For three keys	0	0	9
<i>Imprimis</i> .—John Symon for seven carts of <i>Maneyas</i> * bought for said gate, each cart 2s. 8d.	0	17	8

* *Maneyas*, mediæval word signifying rubble.

	£	s.	d.
For carriage of seven cartloads of material from Hethwode to the said gate, each load 2s. 2d.	0	16	11
For one cartload of material taken from Polsloe to the aforesaid gate	0	1	1
For two summarii of material from Polsloe to the said gate, each 2½d.	0	0	5
For fourteen "summ." of material for the same gate, each ½d.	0	0	7
Paid Simon Fayreman for one peck of "man."	0	1	6
Paid Edward Rawe and Edwd. Taillor for carriage of fourteen "summ." of "man." for the said gate, for every "summ." 2½d.	0	2	11
Paid John Honyland, carpenter, and other workmen working with him, for making the said gate, for divers days and taking them at 5d. a day, as is shown in the book of expenses whence this is derived	6	4	2½
Paid two men conveying for six days to the gate "man." and for other works done about the same and taking them at 5d. a day	0	5	0
And for "sperys," "twystis," "clavis," and other works in iron at the same gate done by John Sangell as is shown	4	9	8
To the East-gate of the City of Exeter.—For divers expenses and other repairs done by Henry (Grympston), and renewing that which was destroyed by assault in the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck and others against our Lord the King			xxi.
Paid John Cooke for eleven dozen of gravel and stone wanting at the West-gate, and forty-four dozen gravel and stones in like manner at the East-gate, and for seventeen dozen gravel and stones wanted at the North-gate, and labour about same			xxiii. 11
Paid John West-Pairom for paving about West-gate, North-gate, and East-gate, and round about the Guildhall, of the City of Exeter, viz., in all 360 rods, at 1½d. a rod	0	45	0
For one hundred "summ." of stones for the said gate bought	0	16	5
For stone bought at another time for making le "gutto" about the same	0	4	4
Paid John Major, mason, and other workmen working with him, for divers days as is shown in the books whence this is extracted, for the "gutto" about the aforesaid gate, their pay	1	9	4

	£	s.	d.
For seventeen bags of lime, for each bag 4d.	0	5	8
For "latthis" used about the same	0	0	6½
For "lathwaylis"	0	0	7½
For two "onysbordys"	0	0	3
Paid three workmen for two days' work in covering over "le pentys"	0	2	4
For covering stones (slates)	0	6	0
For wedges called "helyng pynnys"	0	0	3
Paid P. Honyland for making the aforesaid	0	6	0
For rosin and wax for the said gate	0	0	8
For oil bought, used at the time of raising up the said gate	0	0	8
Paid one man called the quarryman for three quarters of stone	0	12	2

An old chronicler says that "Henry had ever a perpetual and noble wish to look his dangers in the face and deal with them hand to hand." He, however, seemed to studiously make as light of Perkin's doings, now his landing with hostile intent was expected, as he had ever done. Doubtless some good reason existed for this, or there was no expectation of the Cornishmen joining the rebel cause in such force. On 10th September the King delivered to one "Emson for to carry to Exeter for the busyness ther £666 13s. 4d."; and on the 12th he writes to Sir Gilbert Talbot, that "we shall goo in oure owne persone *if the case soo requir*," but the rapid advance of the rebels could never have been anticipated, for he continues, "we pray you to adresse you unto us with six score talle men on horsback defensibly arrayed," and "mete us at our Manoir of Wodestock the XXVIII day of this present moneth." This was six days after the raising of the siege of Exeter, and three after Perkin's flight. But on the 20th all was activity. A dispatch from the Earl of Devon describing the events in Exeter reached the King, and Sir John Cheyne was paid £500 for his retainers on the same day, and hastened forward. Money for the pay of the troops was conveyed from London to Woodstock in four carts, and Doctor Mydelton was sent on to Exeter with a second instalment of £666 13s. 4d. On the 25th a messenger brought news to the Court of the flight

of Perkin, for which he was paid £1, and the King set out on his journey westward. His Majesty's progress can be traced by the record of his privy purse expenses, which is still extant. On the 27th he was at Cirencester, on 28th at Malmesbury, on 29th at Bath, on 30th at Wells. Here the way appears to have been lost, for a guide is hired at the cost of 1s. 8d. to convey the royal party back to Bath, which they reached on the 1st October, and on the 2nd arrived at Glastonbury, on the 3rd at Bridgwater, and on the 4th at Taunton. At this stage the royal heart must have been sorely grieved to be obliged to put on record the loss of £9 at cards; but he was consoled next day by the arrival of Perkin Warbeck, brought in a prisoner. On the 6th, Tiverton was reached, and on Saturday, the 7th of October, 1497, the journey was accomplished, and the King entered Exeter.

The fact is put on record, in one instance, in rather a curious manner. In an ancient psalter of the 13th century, amongst the Chapter Archives, some one has entered in the margin of one of the leaves, representing the month of October, in a crabbed handwriting, the following:—"M. qd proximo Ste fidei Ao: d-m 1497 intravit in Exon H. Septimus."

There can be no doubt that the visit of the King afforded unmixed pleasure to the authorities and citizens of Exeter; they had defended his cause with heart and soul, not only as a duty but with sincere regard for his house, and they were right royally thanked for their fidelity.

Although the details of the reception are lost to us as a whole, we can pick up threads here and there which indicate that a genuine welcome was accorded. We find charges in the Receiver's Accounts for King's footmen and henchmen; to master Ryder for looking after and commanding the same, a donceur of 20s.; paid to William Dynhys for a cask of wine, given to the King, £4; paid to John Cobb for four oxen and forty sheep, given to the King, £7 13s. 4d.; wine to Lord Broke, and money to the Earl of Devon for divers good offices, and sundry expenses incurred by numerous horsemen employed for the personal service of the King.

The water supply was looked to, and a heavy charge incurred

for new pipes, even the keys of the city were furbished up, that they might be delivered spotless to the King, with the proud boast that never had they passed into the hands of an enemy since Norman William received them as his last and greatest conquest.

It chanced that John Atwill was again Mayor at this time, his election had been the cause of, or the compromise for, some dissensions amongst the citizens about the office of Mayor. Now all was harmony : and with what different feelings to those they held thirteen years before, did the Corporation prepare to meet their King. The Mayor in scarlet gown, lined with sarcenet, the Receiver in crimson in grain, and the Council in robes of murky color in grain, in full state, confident in the reception their loyalty had entitled them to ; we must picture to ourselves these worthies, supported by the presence and good wishes of the citizens, marching forth from the (even then) old Guildhall, and proceeding up the High Street, awaiting the King's approach just beyond the East-gate. The Earl of Devon doubtless had told his royal brother-in-law how desperately the citizens had fought in his cause against such heavy odds, and how they had held the city and beaten off the assailants without the aid of his soldiers. It is probable that the meeting was something more than the cold formality usual on such occasions, for we are told that the King praised the Mayor and citizens for their good services, and commended them for their truths, and "verie thanckfullye" accepted the hospitality offered him by the city. Entering by the East-gate the King would observe the destruction caused by the rebels, the battered walls, the broken gates, and the torn up roadway ; and the scene of their repulse and terrible slaughter would be pointed out as he passed over the spot—and so on to the Treasurer's house, which had been prepared for his Majesty's reception. It is not so many years since this Treasurer's house was removed. It stood at right angles with the Cathedral, projecting from the North Tower, on which are still to be faintly seen the marks of the gable-end of the building.

Amongst the records of the city of Waterford is a long letter from Henry to the Mayor and citizens, dated from Exeter, the

18th October, 1497. It is the sequel to the correspondence which had already passed. It relates how Perkin Warbeck, when he fled from Taunton, thought to get away by sea from the South coast, but being closely followed up, his attempts were foiled, and he betook himself to the Abbey of Beaulieu, where he claimed the privilege of Sanctuary.*

*LETTER FROM KING HENRY VII. TO THE MAYOR AND CITIZENS OF
WATERFORD. (Ryland's History, p. 33.)

HENRY REX

Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well. And whereas Perkin Warbeck lately accompanied with divers and many of our rebels of Cornwall advanced themselves to our City of Exeter, which was denied unto them, and so they came to the town of Taunton, at which town as soon as they had knowledge that our Chamberlain or Steward of our household, Sir John Cheney, and others our loving subjects with them, were come so far forth towards the said Perkin, as to our Monastery at Glastonbury, the said Perkin took with him John Heron Edward Skelton and Nicholas Ashley and stole away from his said Company about midnight and fled with all the haste they could. We had well provided beforehand for the sea coasts, that if he had attempted that way as he thought indeed to have done, he should have been put from his purpose, as it came to pass: for when they perceived they might not set to the sea, and that they were had in quick chase and pursuit, they were compelled to address themselves to our Monastery of Beaulieu, to the which, of chance and fortune, it happened some of our menial servants did repair, and some were sent thither purposely. The said Perkin Heron Skelton and Astley, seeing our said servants there and remembering that all the Country was warned to make watch, and to give attendance, that they should not avoid nor escape by sea, made instances to our said servants to sue unto us for them—the said Perkin desiring to be sure of his life, and he would come unto us to shew what he is and over that do unto us such service as should content us. And so by agreement of our said servants when they wished them to depart from Beaulieu and to put themselves in our Grace and pity. The abbot and convent hearing hereof demanded of them why and for what cause they would depart? whereunto he gave answer in the presence of the said abbot and convent and of many others that without any manner of constraint, they would come unto us of their free wills in trust of our Grace and pardon aforesaid. And so the said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled, and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself to us hath of his free will openly shewed in the presence of all the lords here with us and of all nobles his name to be Pierce Osbeck, whence he hath been named Perkin Warbeck and to be no Englishman born but born of Tournay and Son to John. Some time while he lived comptroller of the said town with many other circumstances too long to write declaring by whose means he took upon him this presumption and folly, and so now the great abuse which hath long continued is now openly known by his own confession. We write these news unto you, for be undoubted that calling to mind the great abusion that divers folks have been in by reason of the said Perkin, and the great business and charges that we and our realm have been

Desiring to make sure of his life, he made overtures to the King, promising that if his life were spared, he would "come unto him and shew him what he is, and over that do such service as should content him." And so with a promise of grace he was brought to Exeter a prisoner, with the King, and was perhaps not the least observed of the personages who formed the procession which moved through the High Street to the Cathedral Yard. The King, in his communicative epistle, states that "the commons of this Shire of Devon come dayly before us in great multitudes in their shirts, the foremost of them having halters about their necks, and full humble, with lamentable cries for our grace and remission submit themselves unto us," and also that "sithence the writing of these premises, we be ascertained that Perkin's wife is in good surety for us, and trust that she shall shortly come unto us, to this our city of Exeter, as she is minded." This illustrious lady—a near relative of James of Scotland—had believed in her impostor husband, and had shared the dangers of his expedition to Ireland, and to Whitsand Bay. Pending the result of the rising, she appears to have sought refuge at St. Michael's Mount, for at this place she was heard of by the King, and sent for. With every consideration for her

put unto in that behalf, you would be glad to hear the certainty of the same, which we affirm unto you for assured truth. Sithence the writing of these premises, we be ascertained that Perkin's wife is in good surety for us, and trust that she shall shortly come unto us, to this our City of Exeter as she is minded. Over this we understand, by writing from the Right Rev. Father in God the Bishop of Duresone, that a truce is taken between us and Scotland, and that it is coucluded the King of Scots shall send unto us a great and Solemn Embassage for a longer peace to be had during both our lives. And since our coming to this our City of Exeter for the suppression of this great rebellion, and so to order the parties of Cornwall as the people may live in their due obeysance unto us, and in good restfulness for themselves in time to come. The Commons of this Shire of Devon come dayly before us in great multitudes in their Shirts, the foremost of them having halters about their necks, and full humble with lamentable cries for our grace and remission submit themselves unto us; whereupon ordering first the chief stirrers and doers to be tried out of them, for to abide their corrections accordingly we grant unto the residue generally our said grace and pardon, and our Commissioners the Earl of Devon, our Chamberlain and our Steward of household, have done and do dayly likewise in our County of Cornwall. Given under our signet at our said City of Exeter, the 18th day of October.

rank, the King provided for the comfort of her journey, as may be seen in the account of his privy purse expenses :—"Oct. 15.—To Robert Suthewell for horses, sadells, and other necessarys, bought for the conveyance of my Lady Kateryn Huntleye, £7 13s. 4d."

The statement of the King as to the scenes which occurred daily before his house, is singularly confirmed, and that too on oath. Amongst the city records there is a copy of the evidence taken in a dispute between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation, respecting the bounds of their jurisdiction. This was in 1554, and Robert Beale, who stated his age to be 80, deposed, "that there was a rowe of xvi. trees goeing from the bancke before Mr. Treasurer's dore unto the northe dore of St. Peter's Church and viii. of these trees were cutt downe when King Henry the VIIth was in this citie bycause he standinge in the newe window in Mr. Treasurer's house might see the rebels which came there with halters aboute their neckes before him for pardon."

A new window was opened in the Treasurer's house, and the trees felled in front, that the King might the better view this singular spectacle. This went on day after day until the proper time having arrived, a few of those present being "chief stirrers and doers" were set aside, and Henry thus addressed them, the mob being on all sides :—"Oh Cornishmen! with feelings sad and hurt we lament the injury done to us by your base and malicious conduct, which we now are about to punish, but unwillingly, as God is our witness. But since our laws must be obeyed as a terror to the wicked and an example to the good, it is right that you who showed yourselves openly so willing to do evil and who without any fear of God or of ourselves, granted helping arms to this most shallow of men—desisting not even when admonished from us—should suffer the penalty which you deserve. To these others who forsook our cause partly through ignorance and partly through your wiles, we grant them their lives." These words having been spoken, the people standing around, with one accord, set up a loud shout, and again and again thanked the King for his clemency.

Before this scene took place there had been a curious assemblage in the Treasurer's house. The Lady Katherine had arrived, and all were struck with her beauty and grace, and the symbol of the house of York, which her husband had assumed, was at once applied to her, as the "Fair White Rose."

The King had worked Perkin up to the point of confessing his imposture to his followers, and he also inflicted upon him the exquisite humiliation of doing so in the presence of his hitherto confiding wife. Addressing his followers the claimant thus collapsed :—" You perceive, fellow soldiers, that the power of the Almighty is resisting our efforts. You see that the valour and grace of Henry, most victorious of Kings, are in accord with the will of God ; that all our forces broken up and dispersed are so weakened as to be of no use. You observe also our needy state and want of everything, to be more accurate, our utter misery. For to tell you the truth, although I have put off the settling of your pay even unto the present day, the fact is I have nothing left, not even money, and I know not where to get any. I scarcely know what to do concerning myself--so much is the dread and fear with which my conscience afflicts me--in regard to exposing my designs, which, so far, I have concealed to the open light of truth. I am not indeed the man I said I was, viz., the son of Edward, nor am I worthy to be of a lineage so illustrious and exalted. Whatever in days gone by I have craftily related to you (with regard to signs and seasons) I retained it all in my memory, when, as a little boy, I was a servant of a certain Edward, a Jew, who was the adopted son of the aforesaid King Edward. For, he, my patron was most intimate with King Edward and his children ; wherefore spare me now, I beg of you, and act as men for the sake of your own lives. For my part I know not where to turn nor whither to fly for consolation. In any case, it is certain that I must submit to the King, the most clement of men, or I perish."

Perkin's master was a Christianized Jew, and, as was usual, at his baptism the King stood sponsor. His connexion with the Court brought Perkin into contact with the Princes, and enabled him to acquire information which had aided his imposture.

It is to be hoped that the lady had been properly prepared for these disclosures. We are told that she shed copious tears ; but nothing of the other attributes of feminine grief is mentioned,—probably they had not yet been invented. I suspect that the King, who, Bacon says, was more affected by her beauty than by her distress, had smoothed away many difficulties. His address is consolatory :—“ I grieve indeed, illustrious lady, and am sadly distressed, that with the destruction of so many of my subjects, you have been deceived by such a contemptible fellow ; for your noble blood, the graces of your mind and body, your beauty and dignity deserved a husband of far greater mark. But since God has so willed it that you should be brought to this wretched state through the baseness and dishonesty of that scoundrel, it behoves you to suffer and endure with a well balanced mind. Your future will not want for much. I, therefore, exhort and advise you to bear your loss with calmness. This I promise you in my royal confidence in your excellence, that since by God’s will you have come to such a state, I will not deal with you other than if you were my own sister : and in order that you may henceforth dwell in greater honor and security, we have determined to send you honorably attended to her most serene majesty the Queen, our very dear wife. But this fellow, your husband, we shall retain with us, in order to enquire of him respecting certain praters.”

Next came the turn of the outraged wife, and she was fully equal to the occasion. She begins her reply with rather a curious question, which Perkin must have found it difficult to answer from its very simplicity. “ After,” she says, “ you desired, O most perfidious of men, to deceive me with your false stories, why did you allure me from my house, my home, my parents and friends, to bring me into hostile hands ? Oh, wretched me ! what grief, what care will this day be brought upon my parents ! Oh, would that you had never come to these shores ! Alas for miserable me, what can I look for except death now that my honour is gone ? Why have I not here one of my relatives who would take vengeance on thee ? Villain ! are these the sceptres which you promised me ? Wretch ! is this the royal honor wherewith you boasted that our race should be adorned ? A stranger in this place, poor and needy, what can I hope for ?

In whom can I confide? To whom can I unburden my grief? There seems nothing for me, indeed, but to trust to the promise of that most powerful and most merciful of Kings. On that royal promise I repose all confidence, hope, and safety. More I could say, but the violence of my grief and my tears prevents my speaking."

The King was as good as his word. He had the lady conveyed to his Queen, in London, with all the marks of respect due to her exalted rank. Perkin was also taken to London, and after giving a little more trouble he was executed at Tyburn. His widow consoled herself with a second husband in the person of Sir Matthew Cradock, and was buried with him in Swansea Church.

In recognition of the loyal services rendered by the citizens the King presented them with a Sword and a Cap of Maintenance. He also ordered that a Swordbearer should be appointed by the Corporation to carry the sword before the Mayor in all civic processions. Laurence Prous was the first to hold the office, as is shown in the Receiver's Accounts:—"Paid Laurence Prous, Swordbearer of the City of Exeter, his pension of 20s., arising for the first time this year out of the gift of the King."

Just after their presentation this Sword and Cap were sent to London to be decorated, and otherwise fitted for State purposes. The bill amounted in all to £4 4s. Sarcenet and damask and pinnlace were necessary to make the headpiece at all presentable. The original, shorn of its decoration, is inside the embroidered hat, now used on State occasions; it is of the same shape, but brimless; is made of black coarse woollen felt, and the sides are of two distinct pieces, brought to a circle and sewn at either end. The embroidered hat dates from the reign of James I.

As to the Sword, the pommel and cross, and probably the blade, are original. The scabbard with the chape are of the date 1556, when the charge for their making (in all £1 17s. 8d.) appears in the Accounts. The capital was probably added in James's reign, and at the same time a guinea was let into the pommel. At the points of the cross, on both sides, a Tudor rose was affixed, and in the centre, between the roses, a Jacobian badge, or shield, the device being a fleur-de-lis ensigned with the Royal Crown, and the letters "J. R."

SWORD AND CAPS OF MAINTENANCE.

	£	s.	d.
Paid for the carriage of sword and caps from London to Exon	0	0	20
Paid for the cross and pomell of the sword	0	17	8
Paid for cloth of gold to make a scabbard for the same	0	8	9
For black velvet for another scabbard for the same	0	3	9
For sarcenet for the aforesaid cap	0	1	3
For damask for another cap	0	10	6
For 2 oz. of gilt for the same caps bought	0	2	0
And for one "tymber" and a half of grey for the same	0	13	6
And for the roll of the same	0	0	3
And for the pinnlace of the same	0	4	0
And for covering the said caps with sarcenet and damask	0	2	4
And for the blade of the sword and a bag for the scabbard	0	5	8
And for 2 ells of canvas bought	0	0	8
And for 2 pieces of green ribbon	0	0	4
And for money otherwise spent for the sword and caps	0	1	8
And for 2 cases bought to hold the sword and caps	0	2	8
And for a cloth called a serecloth for the sword and caps	0	1	4
And for a girdle bought for the said sword	0	3	4
And for the chape, the buckle, and the pendant of the sword and girdle	0	1	0
And for damask for the same	0	1	8

PERKIN WARBECK LANDED IN CORNWALL, 7TH SEPT., 1497.

LETTER FROM SIR HARRY WENTWORTH, OF NETTLESTED,
SUFFOLK, TO SIR WILLIAM CALVERLEY, OF CALVERLEY,
YORKSHIRE.

Right Wourshipfulle Cosin I recommend me unto you. And where it
fortuned me in my retorne home from Westchestre to meit my Lord Darby, my
lord Strange, and other at Whalley Abbey, by whome I had the sight of suche
lettres as were directed unto theme frome the Kinge's grace; apperceyning by
the same that Perkin Warbeke is londid in the West parties, in Cornevelle,
wherefore I wolle pray you, and also in the Kinge's name advertise you, to be in
aredynes in you owin persone, with such company as you make, to serve his
highnes, upon an our warnyng when his grace shalle calle upon you. For the

which I doubte not but his highnes shalle geve you thankes accordinge. As our Lord knorth, who preserve you ! Written in the Kinge's Castelle of Knaresburgh, the xvii. day of Septembre.

Your (frend) and Cosyne, Syr,

Addressed

HARRY WENTWORTH.

To his Wourshipfulle Cosin,
Syr William Calverley, Knight,
in haste.

From "Notes and Queries."

(Ellis's Letters.)

HENRY VII. TO SIR GILBERT TALBOT, A.D. 1497.

(From the Archives of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Orig.)

H R By the King

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele, signifying unto you that where as Perkin Warbeck and his wif were lately sette ful porely to the see by the King of Scottes, and afre that landed within our land of Irland in the wylde Irissherie, where he had been taken by our Cousins Th 'Erls of Kildare and of Desmond if he and his said wif had not secretly stollen away. The same Perkin being soe upon the see, is comen to land in our countie of Cornewaille with ij small shippes and a Breton prinse (pinnacle) whereupon we have sent our right trusty Counseillour the lord Daubeney our Chamberlayn by land towards those parties, to arredie our subiettes for the subduyng of hym, and our right trusty Counseillour the Lord Broke, steward of our household, by water with our armee on the See now late retourned, to take the said Perkyn if he retorne agayn to the see. And we shall in our owne persone, if the case soo requir, goo soe accompanied thiderward with our lordes mercy withoute delay, as we shal subdue the said Perkyn and all othre that wil take his part if eny such be. And therefore we hertily pray you to addresse you unto us with six score talle men on horsback defensibly arrayed, and no moo, without any strong delay. And to mete with us at our Manoir of Wodestock the xxijth day of this present Moneth; and at your commyng unto us we shal soe content you for your and their conduct money, and also wages, as of reason ye shal holde you pleased; and that ye faille not hereof as our espesial trust is in you. Geven undre our Signet at our said Manoir the xijth day of Septembre.

To our trusty and welbeloved Knight
for our body Sir Gilbert Talbot.

(*Ellis's Letters.*)

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE TO KING HENRY VII.

(*MS. Dodsworth Bibl. Bodl. vol. 1., fol. 81.*)

After most humble recommendacion had unto your grace, please it your grace to knawe as I sent unto your grace by myne other wryteinge of yesterday of the deminiage of Perkin, and of divers assaults made by his company unto the two gates of your Citty of Excester, and of the defence of the same. It mey like your grace to understand further, that this morninge, of new, the said Perkin and his company made fresh assaults upon the said two gates; and especially at the North-gate, which was againe well and truly defended, and put Perkin from his purpose there; and your said Citty surely kepted and shall bee to the behoofe of your grace; in soe much as when Perkin and his company had well assaid and felt our Gunns, they were faine to desyre us to have lycence to geder theire company togeder, and soe to depart and leave your Citty, and to put us to noe more trouble; which because wee bee not able to recounter them, and that our company were weary and some hurt, therefore it was granted unto them that they should depart, and not to approach the Citty in noe wyse. And soe the said Perkin and his company bee departed from us this day, about eleven of the clocke in the forenoone, and bee twelve were out of sight, and which way they would hould I cannot yet acertayne your grace; But as it was said amongst them they would to Columpton this night, and thanked bee God there is none of your true subjects about this busines slayne, but diverse bee hurt. And doubt not againe one of yours hurt, there is twenty of theires hurt and many slayne. And now I understand certainly that Perkin is to Columpton, and many of his company departed from him, and more as I sell well, and trust verely that your grace shall have good tydings of him shortly. From Excester this Munday next the Eighteenth of September.

(*Ellis's Orig. Letters.*)

(*MS. Dodsw. Bibl. Bodl., vol. 1., fol. 81.*)

THE KING TO * * * * *

By the King.

Cousen trust for certaine that upon Thursday about midnight, Perkin fled from his company at Tanton and took no leave nor lycence of them; a good number of well horsed men bene after him in every quarter. From Knaresburgh the five and twentieth of September.

THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS TO LORD CARLISLE.

My Lord,—Trust for certaine, and so the King willed mee to wryte unto you for hast and because the Kinge is in greate business, that on Thursday about midnight Perkin fled from his company at the Towne of Tanton, and tooke noe leave nor licence of them; a good number of well horsed men bene after him in every quarter. And thus fare you well till more of these tydeings come unto you. At Woodstocke this morning the three and twentieth day of September.

QUOTH BATHON.

(*Ellis's Letters*, 1497.)

HENRY VII. TO BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.

(*MS. Dodsw. Bibl. Bodl.*, vol. 1, fol. 80.)

(The Bishop was Dr. Oliver King, translated from the See of Exeter in 1495.)

By the Kinge.

Right Reverend father in God, right trusty and welbeloved wee grete you well, and have received your wryteinge by the which wee conceive how there is worde that Perkin is landed. Truth it is that he is see landed and at (that) our Commons of Cornwall take his parte, amongst whom on Munday last the eighteenth day of September there was not one gentleman. On Sunday the seventeenth of September Perkin and his company came afore our City of Excester about one after noone; and there inranged themselves in the manner of a battell by the space of two howers. Within that our City were our Couzen. of Devonshire, Sir William Courtney, Sir Jo. Sapcotes, Sir Piers Edgcombe, Sir Jo. Croker, Sir Walter Courteney, Sir Humfrey Fulforth (Fulford), with many other noble men both of our Counties of Devonshire and Cornewall. This Perkin sent for to have deliverance of our said City, which was denyed unto him by our said Couzen. Whereupon Perkin and his Company went to the East Gate and to the Norther Gate, and assaulted the same, but it was soe defended (blessed bee God) that Perkin lost above three or foure hundred men of his company and so failed of his intention. On the morrow after the eighteenth day, Perkin and our rebels made a new assalt at the said Norther Gate and Ester Gate, like as by the copy of the lettres from our said Couzen of Devonshire enclosed yee shall move to understand more at large. The Perkin and his company, if they come forward, shall find before them our Chamberlayn, our Steward of Househould, the Lord Saint Mourice, Sir John Cheney, and the Noblemen of South Wales and of our Counties of Gloster, Wiltshire, Hamshire,

Somerset, and Dorset; and at their backe the garison of our said City of Excester. And wee with our hoast royall shall not bee farre, with the mercy of our Lord for the finall conclusion of the matter. Wee have done proclaimed alsoo that who soe bringeth the said Perkin on live unto us hee shall have the some of a thousand marks, and all those that give theire offences first and last. Wee trust soone to heare good tydings of the said Perkin. Goven under our signet at our Mannor of Woodstocke the twentieth of September.





THE SIEGE OF EXETER,*

1549.

In the year 1549, after endless discussions, wearisome delays, disputes, and compromises, Parliament at last agreed upon a form of Prayer Book which should be common to all Churches and Chapels throughout the land. It was enacted that this book and none other should be used, and that its use should commence on Whitsunday, the ninth of June. The same act contained also an order for the destruction of all images, &c.

It is remarkable that this Act of Parliament, so fiercely opposed at the time, should, after the lapse of more than three centuries, again become the subject of controversy—in the matter of the Reredos in Exeter Cathedral—and that in each case the eyes of England should be turned towards this city of Exeter for a settlement of the question.

It is not difficult to account for the intense dislike and opposition to the proposed changes. In the city the suppression of the monasteries had brought together a band of malcontents whose means of subsistence up to that time depended upon the religious houses. Their livelihood was now gained in a very questionable manner, and they took advantage of the disputed jurisdictions of the recently constituted Sheriff of Exeter, of the Sheriff of Devon, and of the Dean and Chapter to evade the law; and gave infinite trouble to the authorities. Careless of consequences they would violently oppose any reform of the old religion under which they prospered so well, partly from conscientious motives, but chiefly

* The account of what happened within the city is taken from Hoker's narrative, supplemented by information derived from the Municipal Records.

in revenge for the deprivation of their privileges. Illustrating in themselves the sweeping changes which were affecting social life, and not without influence on that account, they played an important part in the events which succeeded the passing of the act. But a far more formidable opposition was to be expected from the rural districts. There the operation of the land laws had deprived the sturdy peasant farmers of their little holdings, which for generations had been handed down from father to son until they were almost reckoned as freeholds. Wandering about, picking up a precarious livelihood, discontented and hungry, it needed but little to awaken in them a mutinous spirit against the laws under which they so cruelly suffered. They could not understand the necessity for a change in the form of religion; to them the shows, processions, and assemblies of the Romish Church were attractive in themselves and occasions for family and friendly meetings; and the substitution of a grave cold service for the ceremonial to which they had been accustomed was distasteful in the extreme. They associated this doctrinal reform with the other innovations which had reduced them to their present extremity, and rebelled against it.

A document was presented to the Privy Council from the Commons of Devon and Cornwall, which in fifteen articles, each commencing, imperiously, "We will have," required the restoration of the Catholic religion and the extinction of Protestantism with fire and sword.

The eventful Whit Sunday appears to have passed off quietly in Exeter, but before the end of the week there are indications that troubles were anticipated. On the following saturday the usual night watch was withdrawn, and forty honest householders substituted. A week later, the storm gathering in the west, the Corporation met in anxious deliberation, and decided that the City Companies should be summoned for the better safeguard and good order, each to contribute ten men in harness and armour, the same to be householders, or honest and discreet persons; and for every quarter, one or more constables should be provided as might be thought good. Not knowing what might happen, the Mayor was invested with full power to act as he

thought best in any emergency, and the Governors of the city parted, not to meet again until had been passed over the greatest crisis in the history of Exeter, since the Norman conqueror added the last leaf to his laurel crown by the surrender of the capital of the west.

In the parish church of the little village of Sampford Courtenay, near Crediton, the new service was read on the appointed day to a severely critical congregation; and perhaps the unwilling priest evinced some sympathy with his hearers by adding a spice of ridicule to the performance. Albeit, the next day, being Whitmonday, the priest on his way to church was met at the porch by a crowd of persons whose demeanour showed they were bent on some settled purpose. "What service are we to have to-day?" they asked. "The same as yesterday, according to the laws of the land," was the reply. They declared that it should not be so, but that they would keep to their old and ancient religion as their forefathers before them had done; and, nothing loth, the priest arrayed himself in Popish attire, said mass, and performed the other services of the Romish church.

The law was thus broken, and the Justices of the peace in the neighbourhood, being responsible for the same, came to the village with their men, and found a knot of the ringleaders, whom they might have seized, and thus nipped the rebellion in the bud. It was suspected that some of the magistrates sympathised with the movement, and it may be that out of these peasants they feared to raise up a nemesis which should be revenged on them for the wrongs the landholders had profited by. Whatever the reason, the magistrates contented themselves with mild caution and prudent advice, and returned home "afraid of their own shadows."

These proceedings soon became noised abroad, and the infection rapidly spread; in every parish the people wanted a return to the old religion, and the discontented and disorderly, seizing the opportunity, strove to foment disturbances, and in a very short time, north, east, and west, the country was up. The royal troops at this time were engaged in the Scottish wars, and the news of the rebellion reaching the King and council, the

only course that suggested itself, in the emergency, was to send down Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew, with instructions to do the best they could to pacify the people, and promise them that their complaints should be heard. Lord Russell, whose residence stood on the spot now occupied by Bedford circus, then in attendance at court, was to follow with troops, and a full commission to suppress the rising. On the arrival of the two knights in Exeter, the Sheriff and county magistrates mustered their followers and marched forth on the road to Crediton, where the rebels had assembled in force. On approaching the town they found the highway barricaded, and a barn on either side loop-holed for shot and arrows, and filled with armed men. Dismounting, the Carews proceeded on foot and opened a parley with the rebels, endeavouring to persuade them to peacefully disperse; but they were met with a sharp volley, and there was no help for it but to fight. After a short struggle the barns were fired, the barricade was carried, and the enemy fled into the town and beyond it, and disappeared so effectually that when the magistrates entered the town, there were none to be seen but a few old women and children.

There were not wanting those, however, ready to take advantage of this incident, and further stimulate the angry passions which had been roused; the burning of the barns was noised abroad, and rumour exaggerated the incident into an organised raid, with fire and sword, upon the consciences of the people.

Walter Raleigh, the father of the great adventurer, riding through the village of St. Mary Clist, overtook an old woman on her way to church, telling her beads as she went. He told her that such things were forbidden by law, and would be put down with a strong hand. This somewhat unnecessary interference afterwards nearly cost him his life; as it was, he suffered some weeks' imprisonment at the hands of the rebels. The old woman on reaching the church rushed in, as though in great alarm, and shouted out in the face of the congregation, assembled for service, that her religion had been insulted, that a gentleman had just threatened that if they did not give up their beads, their holy bread, and holy water, he would burn them out of their houses.

The men in a panic flung themselves out of the church, and began at once, as though an enemy were approaching, to entrench and fortify the village, and to barricade the bridge; fetching cannon, from the ships at Topsham, to cover the approaches. At these signs of renewed hostility, the magistrates again rode forth, and again the temporising policy prevailed. Sir Thomas Denis, Sir Hugh Pollard, and Mr. Yard, as being of the most conciliatory dispositions, were admitted to the village to confer with the rebels, whilst the doughty Carews and their followers remained on the wrong side of the bridge, chafing at their inaction, from ten o'clock in the morning till nightfall. The long conference at last broke up, the three justices came forth, and they were, of course, at once eagerly questioned, the only response elicited, however, being that they had done well enough. The whole party then rode off, at speed, to Exeter, and supped together at the Mermaid Inn. After supper, when the servants had withdrawn, Sir Peter Carew insisted upon knowing what agreement had been come to; and it then transpired that the rebels would be content only on condition that the religious services remained unaltered until the young King came of age, and that the three magistrates had actually consented to recommend that course to the Council. Aghast at the weakness and folly of their comrades, the Carews, the Sheriff, Sir Pierce Courtenay, and others, inveighed in no measured terms against this policy which, they at once saw, could but strengthen the insurrection. High words and scornful looks followed, and challenge and counter challenge passed between the angry disputants. An appeal to the sword seemed inevitable, when the better thought obtained that this was not a time for quarelling amongst themselves, and the party suddenly broke up, the gentlemen going each his own way. Most of them before reaching home that night were taken prisoners by the rebels, and kept in confinement until the troubles were over.

The Carews slept at the Inn, and ere daybreak the next morning took horse and in hot haste rode forth on their way to find Lord Russell. They saw that it was too late for any local effort, and that good troops and trustworthy leaders could alone

deal with what had become a formidable rebellion. It was not long before gentlemen of position and influence associated themselves with the insurrectionary movement, which speedily assumed a most serious character. Sir Thomas Pomeroy, Mr. John Burie, and Mr. Coffin, in Devon, found themselves the leaders of a large and powerful body of men, with promise of support from an equally strong party from Cornwall, under Arundell and Winneslade. Not a soldier had yet been despatched against them, and the longer they remained unopposed, the more formidable the rebellion became.

John Blackaller, Mayor of Exeter, must have heard, with no little concern, of the wide-spread revolt, and the powerlessness of the county authorities to suppress it. Within his own jurisdiction he had taken every precaution, and succeeded in maintaining order. Little more than a week elapsed after the issuing of the order to the City Companies to furnish armed men for the defence of the city, than he was summoned to make common cause with the rebels, and allow them to occupy the city. Being himself, in common with the chief men of the place, well affected to the old religion, it was thought that he would be easily persuaded to favour the demand of the rebels, especially as the means of defence at his command were small, and likely to be embarrassed by internal dissensions. A man of plain and unpretentious ways, a merchant—probably one of the old cloth merchants—he cared more for his business than for either politics or martial matters. But he had accepted a sacred trust, and he plainly saw that, despite threats and warnings, his duty was to fulfil that trust to the uttermost. He knew that he was responsible for the safe custody of the great stronghold of the west, but he did not know, at that time, that the destinies of England were in his keeping. Faithful, honest John Blackaller, with a sea of troubles raging around him, he showed himself to be of the stuff that heroes are made, and by his staunch firmness and resolute spirit put to shame the faltering cowardice of the county magnates.

Twice summoned to surrender the city this was his reply, "Our duty to God, our fidelity to the country, our very reputation

forbids our dealing with you at all. We denounce you as rebels and enemies." Then on Tuesday, the second day of July, the city was invested, and the gates were closed. Knowing that they had partisans within the walls exceeding in number the loyal citizens, the rebel besiegers made sure that, by treachery and starvation, the city would be speedily surrendered to them. They brought their wives and their horses and panniers before the city, and from St. David's Down to St. Sidwell's Church, across the wide waste of the Southernhay, even to the Southgate, along the open banks and flats by the river from the Water-gate past West-gate to Snayle tower, the motley crowd swarmed in the summer air, greedily expectant of the day when the city would be opened to them with its spoils of silks and velvets, plate and money, the rich prey with which they hoped to laden their horses home. They intrenched the highways, broke down the bridges, tore up the waterpipes, and guarded every pass, so that intercourse with the city was entirely cut off.

The arrangements for the defence of the city devolved upon the Mayor and Corporation. Of the county gentlemen four only had the patriotism to remain at the post of danger, and they rendered signal service by their military knowledge and habits of command. Their names were Blewett, Beauchampe, Fortescue, and Courtenie, of Powderham. John Peter, the Collector of Customs, also remained at his post, but there were many, we are told, who concealed themselves in certain houses in the city, waiting to see which way the tide of events would turn.

The utmost vigour was displayed in putting the city into as good a state of defence as was possible under the circumstances. Arms, armour, and ordnance were drawn forth from most unexpected places; draughts of trustworthy men were called out and incessantly drilled and trained to the use of the weapons provided for them; the few soldiers quartered in the Castle were placed under the orders of the authorities, and the officers carefully selected. Commanders of each ward were also appointed, who were held responsible for the charges entrusted to them. The gates and bastions were mounted with heavy guns, and pieces of ordnance placed on the walls wherever practicable, and

the safety of the men provided for, in all exposed places, by the erection of screens or guards to protect them against the arrows and bullets of the besiegers. But the defence of the city against an outward foe was comparatively an easy task to that of guarding against the dangerous enemy which lurked within the walls. The larger number of the inhabitants covertly sympathised with the cause of the insurgents, and many openly aided them in their efforts to take the city. Information was conveyed to and fro by means of letters attached to arrows which were shot over the walls, and thus nothing transpired in the city which was not made known outside, and those within were at all times well prepared to second the designs of the besieging force. The defenders constantly found that their best efforts were frustrated by intrigue and stratagem, and often the, apparently, most loyal offers of assistance were obliged to be received with suspicious caution. The adverse element was kept down by sheer force of character and peremptory firmness, added to the unflagging vigilance which discovered its plots and frustrated its devices. The long day was succeeded by the anxious night, and as yet no sign of help from King or Court. The besiegers, exasperated at the obstinate defence, poured an incessant hail of shot and arrows upon the city, so that in some streets no man could safely pass. To look out of an upper window was but to court the attention of the sharpshooters perched on the houses just outside the walls, and they spared neither age nor sex. So intolerable did this nuisance become, that the order went forth to burn and destroy every house which could command the city.

Retaliation was threatened on the part of the rebels by the preparation of fire balls, but the good offices of the Vicar of St. Thomas prevented their being used, or the destruction of the city with its overhanging gabled houses, chiefly constructed of timber, would perhaps have been complete. But they did resolve to destroy the west-gate, by blowing it up with gunpowder, hoping, in the confusion, to take the city with a rush.

One John Newcomb, a servant of Mr. W. Hurst, a member of the Corporation, had been at one time a miner at Teignmouth, he knew the nature of the work which he suspected would be under-

taken, and had kept a sharp look out. His suspicions soon became certainties, and the time was come to act. His proceedings might now be considered as quite orthodox and excite no remark; but in those early days they were looked upon with incredulous wonder. Just within the west-gate an anxious crowd were assembled watching Mr. Newcomb crawling about on the ground with a pan of water in his hand. Every now and again he would listen attentively with his ear in the dust, and rising, place the pan on the spot. At last he has it; like the beating of a pulse the still water in the pan vibrates in harmony with the stroke of the pick-axe far underneath, and the old miner rises exultant. There was no time to lose; willing hands at once set to work and never ceased till the countermine was accomplished, when Newcomb noiselessly making a small opening, looked through and saw a sight which made his blood curdle. Barrels of powder, casks of pitch, faggots of wood, and piles of combustibles, it needed but a spark to utterly destroy the western-gate and the great walls, and let in the rebel host. He learnt more, he overheard the very hour mentioned at which the deed was to be done, and determined to prevent it.

Anyone standing on the precise spot, which he may still do, just below the church of St. Mary Steps, would observe, as far as he is able, and would perceive completely but for the houses, that the natural configuration of the land for the most part, within the walls, converges, as it were, to a focus at the place indicated. The situation will be better realised if we imagine the wall restored to its original state across the higher end of Bridge street, leaving the only exit from Fore street hill to the west-gate, by steep, narrow West street. A little hasty engineering enabled Newcomb to carry out his plans. They were simple, but effectual. By public order every householder was required to have a great tub of water outside his door, and at a given signal every tub was emptied in the kennel, and every tap and tirpit turned throughout the city. Providence seemed to favour the design, for at the precise moment heavy clouds burst over the city, and such rain poured down as had rarely before been seen. Every little lane and alley contributed to swell the

stream of water rushing through the main streets ; gathering force as it travelled, the stream became a torrent, and concentrating upon the mine it swept through with irresistible force, carrying powder, pitch, miners and tools, far down the slope to the river. Utterly drowned out, the mine also became filled with all the refuse of the city, and was rendered useless for further operations—indeed, we hear nothing further of mining throughout the siege. Foiled in their enterprise in this direction, the besiegers thought that by burning down the wooden gates they would obtain easy access. They procured carts from the country heavily laden with hay and straw, under which they were protected from the fire of the great port pieces on the towers and the cannon on the walls, and pushing these carts before them to the gates, there set a light to the combustibles. The gates were soon consumed, and all was ready for a rush, but as the smoke cleared away the rebels saw within the gate a new rampart reared as if by magic, and stout arms to defend it, which they dared not encounter.

Harassed by the fire from the guns and sudden assaults by day, and by attempted surprises in the night, the difficulties of the authorities were heightened by the well-intentioned offices of certain citizens desirous of affecting a compromise with the enemy. One Mr. Wolcot, for instance, who was a member of the Corporation and captain of the guard at the west-gate, presumed to imagine that he was capable of mediating between the belligerent forces, and went out for the purpose, at the wicket-gate with two others, carrying the keys with him. His interview with the rebels could not have been of the most satisfactory character, for after a short conference, he took to his heels and barely escaped capture, leaving his companions prisoners outside.

There was one Richard Taylor also, a cloth merchant and a papist, but probably on the loyal side, hoping to compel some compromise, hit upon the expedient of exciting a fight in the Guildhall between the reformers and the papists. Assembled by summons of the Mayor to discuss the state of affairs, Mr. Taylor was seen to be handling his bow, when the arrow

shot forth as if accidentally, its intended destination being the heart of some reformer, but his own best friend, Mr. Peter, the Customs collector, stood in the way and received the missile on his rib bone. An explanation was demanded of Mr. Taylor, and the humiliating confession of his purpose reluctantly extracted. No doubt he was severely admonished by the Mayor, and withered by the scornful glances of the faithful. Hoker hints at a righteous retribution, for he says the culprit never afterwards prospered, and at last died in prison for debt.

A serious conspiracy was about this time discovered and frustrated. Some of the soldiers stationed at the Castle had been bribed to admit the rebels by the northern-gate, a certain number at a time. The authorities hearing of this moved a large force of men, whom they could trust, to the Castle, with instructions that they were to pretend to join the plot. When the appointed number of rebels had been admitted the gate was closed, and they were astonished to find themselves carried off to prison in the company of the faithless soldiers.

Varied by incidents such as these, the time dragged slowly on and still no prospect of relief,—not a line nor a word of encouragement. It was a matter of uncertainty whether Carew had even succeeded in reaching Lord Russell, or that the latter knew to what straits the authorities were driven. The chances of being able to hold the city were lessening, for now the food supplies began to fail. So sudden was the investment of the city, that there was no time to lay in an extra store of provisions, and the ordinary stock would soon disappear. An occasional raid from the gates secured valuable booty, in the shape of cattle, which had strayed to graze on the grassy slopes below the walls, but bread had failed, and none was to be had. A poor substitute was found in the mixture of puffing and bran—commonly used to feed horses and pigs with. These were moulded in cloths and baked, contenting the people for awhile, “for hunger maketh all things sweet.” Not a day passed but the Mayor and his brethren were pressed with subtle argument and specious reasoning, alike from friend and foe, to yield up the city, and so end the troubles. With one mind and one voice their answer was always the same,

"In this city we have been brought up, here we have gotten our livings, here we have sworn fidelity and allegiance to the King, here we have hitherto served him, and here we will, by God's help, so continue to the uttermost of our powers."

There was yet another difficulty to be coped with, in the rashness sometimes displayed by those impatient at being so long shut up. From the garden of Bedford house there was an exit, by a door in the city wall and a drawbridge across the ditch, to the Southernhay. Through this gate my Lord Russell's steward, Mr. Barnard Duffield, with a few chosen spirits, often sallied forth to make a raid upon the enemy, returning with many prisoners and much spoil. Mr. Drake, the Receiver, came back from one of these forays with an arrow through both cheeks, and by a manœuvre only, one Goldsmith escaped with his life. In the same skirmish he was seized and was about to be despatched with a billhook, when he suddenly fell on his knees and gave himself up a prisoner, causing a momentary hesitation on the part of his captor, which allowed Mr. Goldsmith the opportunity of discharging the short gun of the period upwards, underneath the armour, killing him on the spot; so the tables were turned, and he brought in the spoils in triumph. The spirit of emulation waxed so warm that these skirmishes became very frequent, and from the boldness of the raiders extremely dangerous, many valuable lives being lost in this way.

John Courtenie, who then occupied Bamfylde House, a son of the old knight of Powderham, held the opinion that it was contrary to the rules of warfare that irresponsible sallies should be made from any fortified place on its defence. Unless there was some very urgent necessity, these affairs should be planned by the general in command.

Mr. Duffield held a contrary opinion, and a warm dispute ensued, the steward expressing his determination to continue these sallies. Courtenie felt so strongly in the matter that he went to the Mayor and made out so good a case that his worship assembled his brethren in Guildhall and sent for Duffield. He was a coarse choleric man, as subsequent events show, and being my lord's factotum thought he could take liberties. He refused

the Mayor's earnest request that he would abstain from such adventures, and expressed his determination to do as he liked. His language was violent, and his insolence to the Mayor intolerable, so that his worship felt it to be his duty to commit him to ward until he became more reasonable. At such a time to punish a man of his position and influence, is a remarkable instance of the firmness and courage of the Mayor; personal interest, personal safety, was nothing to him, but he was determined that, whilst in his keeping, the dignity of the office should suffer nothing. No man should dare to insult the scarlet and sable with impunity; but when lovely or unlovely woman stooped to that iniquity, it was a more difficult matter to deal with. The Mayor it appears was constantly on duty at the Guildhall, and remained there late at night. Thinking of other things and engaged in weightier matters, he was surprised to find himself suddenly brought to book by Miss Frances Duffield, a young lady having a tender regard for her father, and the same choleric temperament. She demanded in very unseemly terms the instant release of her parent, and being refused, "contrary to the modesty and shamefacedness required in a woman, especially young and unmarried, ran most violently upon his worship and strake him in the face," and instantly, let us hope remorsefully, fled to her home. The Mayor was inclined to let the matter pass as one unworthy of notice, but his indiscreet friends were too much for him. The common bell was rung out, and troops of people, with arms and in armour, rushed excitedly to the Guildhall, their nerves, by constant watching, being strained to the utmost tension. The Mayor was insulted, the Mayor was wounded! was killed!! busy tongued rumour had enough to do that night. It reached the sacred precincts of the Close, where the Cathedral dignities were enjoying their first sleep. Arch-deacon Pollard, Mr. Treasurer Southron, Chancellor Luson, and Mr. Canon Howell, turned out at once, roused their men, and all well armed and armoured—a veritable Church militant—marched up to the Hall only to find that the Mayor had gone quietly home. Thither they followed him, and with many expressions of condolence and sympathy, offered to remain all night as a body

guard. But the Mayor, with expressions of gratitude for their loyalty and kindness, dismissed them to their homes, not, however, before the gallant Archdeacon, in unfeigned admiration of the constancy and courage of his worship, made a solemn declaration that he, in his own person, would stand in his behalf against all persons whatsoever who would offer to do him any wrong. This demonstration of the Cathedral clergy was of greater importance than might at first be supposed. The inferior clergy, we know, not only expressed sympathy with, but took an active part in, the revolt against the reformed religion, and it was suspected and even said, that the Princess Mary was in correspondence with some of the influential clergy of Exeter with a view to defeat the Reformation and maintain the old religion, at all risks. The hearty loyalty of the Archdeacon and his brethren must have materially strengthened the hands of the authorities, and not a little influenced the waverers of their own order.

Four anxious weeks had now elapsed since the gates were closed and the citizens penned up within their walls. The wells of the city furnished, fortunately, an abundance of pure water, but the horrors of famine stared them in the face. The supply of meat had become so scarce that the horses had to be slaughtered to keep the prisoners in the gaol alive. We are told that, at this crisis, some of those who had been staunchest in the defence, in their agony at the "continual barking of their hungry bellies," were anxious to yield up the city, if only for a good meal. But the authorities remained firm, and suffered privations equally with their poorer brethren; greater even, for Hoker, who was a member of the Corporation, and stood manfully to his duty throughout the siege, tells us that the "poorer they were, the better they were considered, and more carefully provided for."

There is on record the case of one member of the Corporation only who disgraced himself. His name was Reve, a brewer by trade. At this juncture he induced the trade to conspire together to raise the price of beer. When the proper time arrived he met his well merited punishment in having to pay a heavy penalty and being publicly dismissed from the Corporation.

The fifth week opened, and the first ray of comfort shed its

light on the downcast, famished citizens. On Monday, the 29th July, a boy passed unnoticed through the camp of the besiegers, and coming to the gate was recognised and admitted. He brought letters from Lord Russell to the Mayor, comforting letters, which informed him that his lordship was at Honiton with the King's army, that he had been successful with the enemy (which was not quite correct), and that he would shortly be with him for the deliverance of the city. The news was so good that many refused to believe it; but a day or two after other letters arrived stating that re-inforcements had reached Lord Russell, and that in a very short time he would relieve the city if only the Mayor would patiently hold out. The loyal citizens were inspired with new life, and hopefully looked for the hour when their constancy and courage would be rewarded. But another week drew towards its close, and the expected sound of the trumpets of the relieving army had not been heard, nor had any tidings of its movements come in. The watchfulness of the besiegers showed no abatement, and they harassed the city with undiminished vigour.

Sunday morning arrived and the well-disposed of the people assembled at early prayers in their several parish churches. Suddenly from every quarter appeared a violent armed mob, from which was heard the voices of the dispossessed of the monasteries, shouting, with violent imprecations, "Come out these heretics and twopenny bookmen! Where be they? By God's wounds and blood, we will not be pinned in to serve their turns: we will go out and have in our neighbours; they be honest, good, and godly men." The Mayor and his friends ever on the alert, first heard the disturbance, and thinking at the time it was one of the usual manœuvres to raise a tumult, set themselves to work with energy and drove the rioters to their homes before the worshippers came out of the churches.

But it was something more than an ordinary tumult—important news had reached these fellows, the news that Lord Russell with the flower of the King's army had been utterly beaten by the rebels, and that the city could not be saved. Soon the rumour spread through the city, and consternation prevailed amongst the

faithful. They assembled together, and counting up the number that could be depended upon in this hour of trial, found but one hundred persons. Froude erroneously states that at this time it was decided to surrender the city. Hoker, who was one of the faithful hundred, and whose narrative is the only source whence any information at all can be gleaned of the internal state of the city during the siege, states that the meeting was for quite the contrary purpose, and it is perfectly clear that even to the last when all hope was lost, they would have spurned the thought of yielding. It had come to this: within the walls one half the population was hostile, the other mostly indifferent; and the soldiers and fighting men ready to turn to either side, which ever should be uppermost. Surrounding the city on all sides were thousands of fierce determined men, daily increasing in number, perfecting their appointments, and bent upon taking the city. The forces which had been relied upon to raise the siege were beaten off and defeated. Under these circumstances the hundred "made a covenant and a faithful promise amongst themselves that they would stand firmly and faithfully to the defence and keeping of the city to their uttermost powers," and when the rebel hordes should pour into the city and sweep through its streets, then they would retire to Bedford house and hold that to the last. When that was no longer tenable, then they would go out by the postern-gate into Southernhay, and standing together as one man they would cut their way through the enemy. They would not be taken alive, for they knew that no mercy would be shown them by their foes.

Such was the state of affairs on Sunday, the 4th August.

Let us now return to the time when the angry knights and squires at the Mermaid took horse, and the sound of clattering hoofs awoke the echoes on that summer night as each sped away to his home. The two Carews galloped forth together by the South-gate, and matured their plans as they went. Sir Gawen rode as far as Ottery, and there stayed to look up the tenantry. Sir Peter continued his journey until he reached Georgehinton, in Somerset, where he met Lord Russell on his way westward, but with no troops except a body guard. On learning the

alarming character of the rising, his lordship was for retiring into Dorset as a place of greater safety, but Sir Peter urged him to go on to Honiton and to his own well-fortified castle of Mohuns—Ottery, and there raise what men he could, and await re-inforcements. In the meantime Sir Peter hurried on to the Court, and fully disclosed to the King and Council the serious state of affairs in the west. Grieved and angry at the troubles, due only to their own mistaken policy, the Lord Protector Somerset, and Lord Rich, the Lord Chancellor, sought to cast the blame upon Sir Peter for being too precipitate, and said if he had his rights he should be hung for his doings. Their lordships, however, got rather more in reply than they bargained for; stout Sir Peter was not the man to be put down. He had the best of the argument, and charged home so deeply that the Council were fain to ask him to return with all speed, promising that troops and money should speedily follow. Lord Russell was awaiting his return at Honiton in great despair at having spent all his money and seeing what little force he had with him gradually melting away. Sir Peter's coming soon altered the state of affairs, and more money than was required was provided by three Exeter merchants; men were procured and armed, and Lord Russell found himself at the head of a respectable following, but not an hour too soon.

The rebels had already taken the field, and had marched as far as the meadows below Feniton Bridge, where they were now encamped. The Carews, eager for the fight, prevailed upon Lord Russell to advance his men from Honiton and attack them. Coming to the bridge they found it well guarded, and the enemy on the opposite side of the river. A desperate struggle ensued, in which Sir Gawen Carew was wounded, but at length the bridge was carried by his troops, and fiercely charging down the meadow they made short work of the rebels. When the battle was over and the men scattered about gathering the spoil, a body of lusty cornishmen, under Robert Smith, of St. Germain's, came upon them unawares, and the fight was renewed. There was great slaughter on both sides, but in the end the cornishmen were beaten off, and Lord Russell

hearing that all the country was up between him and Exeter retired with his force to Honiton, there to await re-inforcements. He had not long to wait, for already Lord Grey, of Wilton, was approaching Honiton with a body of horse, a regiment of the Landsnecke (hired German) infantry, and three hundred seasoned Italian musqueteers—in all one thousand thoroughly disciplined soldiers. The troops must have been exhausted with rapid travel, and the horses knocked up, otherwise we cannot account for the delay of six days—when every moment was of consequence—which elapsed before any movement took place.

At length on Saturday, the 3rd of August, the little army in martial array set forth from Honiton, purposing to pass over Woodbury common, and thence by Topsham to Exeter. Arrived in the evening at a place named Carie's mill, on the down between Woodbury and Mary Clist, they prepared to encamp for the night. The rebels stationed at Mary Clist had early news of the approach of the King's troops, and it was bruited abroad that the hated foreigner was there, the German and Italian mercenary, sent by their King to fight against Englishmen on their own native soil. Frantic with rage they delayed not a moment, but at once sallied forth, and rushing up the hill attacked the royal army with a courage worthy of a better cause. The fight was long and bitter, but in the end, albeit weary and travel-stained, the disciplined troops prevailed, and but few of those sturdy countrymen returned to tell the tale. Miles Coverdale, Chaplain of the Army, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, preached a sermon on the spot, and caused a general thanksgiving for the victory, "among the bodies of the slain, as they lay with stiffening limbs with their faces to the stars."

One cannot help feeling some little sympathy with these men in their futile display of patriotism, for patriotism it was, and none the less genuine because it was mistaken; and we cannot withhold admiration at the stubborn courage they showed in defence of their principles. It was not so much disloyalty to the throne that they showed, but rather indignation at the policy of what they considered to be a deceitful and revolutionary Government. The boy-king had as large a share of their loyalty and

respect as his father before him, but he was looked upon as a child, and a mere tool in the hands of the ambitious Somerset.

The sermon was scarcely finished when the trumpet sounded the alarm, and it was every man to horse and to armour. From the elevated position of the army a wide extent of country could be scanned, and from all parts, crowds of men, magnified in the uncertain light, were seen hurrying towards St. Mary's Clist. The fiery cross had gone forth, and the decisive struggle was imminent—to-morrow should make them rebels or heroes. Little sleep was there that night either on the down or in the village; every house in the latter was being turned into a fortress, and ramparts and entrenchments formed where necessary.

Early the next morning the army on the hill was drawn up in proper order, the men in good spirits and eager for the fray. It was Sunday morning, that Sunday, previously mentioned, on which the despairing citizens of Exeter attended the early morning service, when the riot took place.

Lord Russell inspected his troops and marshalled them in three separate divisions, each to assault the village at different points. In good order they marched down the hill, Sir William Francis leading the way, and soon they were in the thick of the fight at the ramparts and entrenchments. Desperate was the fighting as inch by inch the stubborn english spirit contested the ground, refusing quarter and giving none. At length the outer defences were carried at all points, and the troops rushed into the village, the heavy horsemen endeavouring to ride down the people. From every house, from every window, arquebuss and caliver poured forth their deadly missiles, and showers of arrows harassed the advance, whilst the Italian musqueteers vainly tried to make their weapons felt against unseen enemies. The result was still doubtful when the sound of trumpet and drum was heard in the rear of the royal troops—it was an ingenious ruse on the part of the rebel leader, Sir Thomas Pomeroy, and the effect was complete. A panic seized the soldiers; horse and foot, Landsnecke and Italian fled pell-mell out of the village back to their camp, followed by the villagers, who exultingly despatched every unfortunate foreigner that flagged in that fatal flight. So

complete was the rout, that the waggons containing the munitions of war, armour, and even treasure were seized and brought in triumph into the village. It was the news of this defeat, which sped with lightning wings to Exeter, and brought about the compact of the faithful hundred.

There was a pause for awhile, but again the Royal troops were in motion towards the village, anxious to retrieve their laurels. Orders were given to set fire to the houses as they went, so as to drive the rebels out of their hiding places. Sir William Francis was again in the van, but fell mortally wounded at the first onset. Torches were applied to the thatched roofs, and soon the flames burst forth and spread from house to house, gathering strength as they went. So rapid was the fire that many were burnt where they lay concealed, and those who escaped ran to join the main body, which, panic stricken, had taken up a position at the bottom of the village, near the bridge. Here the rebels made a bold stand, and for some time obstinately maintained the fight, but the repeated charges of the heavily armoured cavalry, the guns of the Italians, and the murderous bills of the Germans proved too much for the brave defenders. The carnage was terrible, and the horrors of the battle field were heightened by the flaming houses and the shrieks of the burning. The tide which, at high water, floods the marshes below the bridge happened to be at its full, and those who escaped the ferocity of the soldiers by trying to wade across, sunk in their heavy armour and were drowned. But the bridge was not yet carried, and upon it stood the gunners with their pieces charged and match alight. The narrowness of the structure admitted of the passage of but one horseman at a time, and an offer of 400 crowns was made to him who should risk his life by charging at the gunners. One man tried it, but he was blown to pieces. Mr. Yard, however, who knew the country well, went a little way up the river bank, and with some followers crossed by the mill. There is a mill at this present moment on the very spot, and has been probably ever since the events we are speaking of. By this manœuvre the gunners were taken in rear, and the bridge soon cleared. The Royal troops then passed over with

their prisoners, and encamped upon Clist heath, the high ground just above Sandiford Turnpike-gate, now cultivated and planted with trees, but a barren heath within living memory. From this elevated spot the dispersed rebels were seen re-assembling, from different parts, on Woodbury common. A large body of men appeared to have been got together, and they were observed to be marching towards the village. A council of war was hastily summoned, and it was decided, in order to avoid embarrassment in case of being attacked, to kill all the prisoners; a terrible act of cruelty, only partly justifiable on account of the exigencies of the moment—the critical situation of the little army in the midst of determined foes outnumbering them twentyfold, and the temper of the foreign mercenaries thirsting to revenge their lost comrades. That night was an anxious one in camp, the fighting of the previous day had shown that it was no mean foe against which they were contending, and his numbers and resources were unknown. Mysterious sounds as of moving bodies of men and works going forward kept the sentries on the alert, and gave no rest to the leaders. The rebels who were besieging Exeter had been hastily summoned from their stations, and all were engaged during the night in fortifying the hedges and entrenching themselves on the lower side of the heath, planting their guns, with their muzzles upwards, pointed towards the camp. At dawn of day these guns opened fire, and the Royal troops were speedily under arms. Again dividing his army into three divisions, Lord Russell took the enemy in flank and rear, and finally surrounding the rebels called upon them to yield. “Never,” they cried, and continued the fight with such desperate valour that Lord Greie, who had seen much service, declared that he had never known the like. True to their traditions, Englishmen as they were, they would never give in; as long as life and limb lasted they struggled on, and so it happened that four thousand of their number fell in the two days’ fighting. The owner of Clist heath tells the story that when, some fifty years since, the virgin land was first ploughed up, vast numbers of human bones were brought to light, which astonished the labourers by their size, the bones of the stalwart sons of toil, of

the flower of British manhood which perished on that mistaken and miserable day. The royal troops having now conquered all opposition, marched to Topsham, and there encamped for the night, proposing to proceed to Exeter on the morrow.

Let us now return to that wretched Sunday in Exeter when despair had fastened upon the loyal citizens. The vigilance of the authorities had in no degree abated, nor had their energies been relaxed, notwithstanding the supposed hopelessness of their cause. The events at St. Mary Clist, however, were fast drawing away the fighting men who had been encamped before the city, and so averted the grand assault, which assisted from within, would probably have been successful. Sunday night was passed in quietness, and Monday in such tranquility, that the guards might well have been doubled and everyone on the alert, believing it to be the ominous lull before the storm which should sweep over the city. As soon as darkness fell, the watch patrolling the walls perceived, through the gloaming, a curious movement amongst the besiegers, there was a bustling to and fro, the low tones of suppressed voices were caught, and the neighing of horses roused from their rest. The hour of deliverance was at hand, and before the Cathedral bell had tolled out the midnight hour, the invading host had melted away in the silent night, and Exeter was free.

The gentlemen who had been confined as prisoners in the churches and other places in the suburbs, came to the walls about midnight, and brought intelligence of the flight of the besiegers. Late as was the hour, or rather early, for there could be no more sleep that night, the Mayor was found at his post, and was one of the first to learn in what manner his constancy had been rewarded. The news spread, the gates were thrown open, and before daylight many a ravenous wretch, rushing forth to find the food to which he had so long been a stranger, so gorged himself that he died.

On Tuesday, the 6th day of August, 1549, soon after sunrise, the city wall from St. John's down to the water-gate was crowded with excited citizens looking out for the approach of the relieving army. Many an one now doubtless boasted his loyalty who,

twelve hours before, would have hailed Arundell with shouts of welcome. Shortly before eight o'clock the sound of trumpet and drum, the tramp of horse and armed men, draw all eyes in the direction of the Topsham Road, and soon the gallant Carews, in full armour and mounted on their war-horses, come into view, heading their tenantry, clad in the heraldic colours of the famous house. Next follow the royal infantry in coats of blue, "garded" with red, and in trunk hose, the right leg red and the left blue; the German Landsnecke with their long bills and staves; and the Italian musqueteers in fanciful costume. The horse, under Lord Greie, bring up the rear, the men in armour and their heavy steeds almost hidden under housings and trappings, and in the midst the Royal Standard fluttering in the breeze. Lost for a moment in the valley at the bottom of Holloway Street, the picturesque procession speedily turns the corner by the Valiant Soldier (an inn at that time), and passes over the waste ground of Southernhay, amidst the cheers and sobs of the joyful citizens, straight, without a halt, to Bedford House, and there on the postern-gate of his own mansion Lord Russell plants the King's Standard of the Red Dragon.

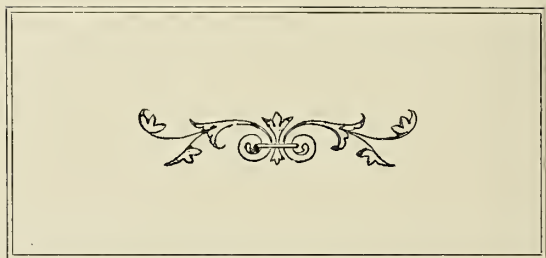
The Mayor, we may be sure, was ready to give an account of his stewardship to the Lord Privy Seal. He had maintained his office with stainless dignity and honor, and with just pride he would now show that it had suffered nothing in his keeping. He assembled his brethren at the Guildhall in the early morning, the Mayor clothed in his robes of office, the Aldermen in their murry gowns, and the Cathedral dignities in their reformed vestments. In full state and followed by the chief citizens, the procession marched to the postern-gate, through which, but the day before, some of them expected to have passed as fugitives. We can imagine with what applauding shouts the little band was received, in admiration of the heroism which had been displayed, and the murmurs of sympathy when their faces, lean with hunger and furrowed by anxiety, came into view as they wended their way to the tent of Lord Russell. Nor was his lordship behind-hand in the enthusiastic welcome he accorded to these gallant defenders of his native city. Hoker, who was present, says "he

most lovingly embraced them, and most highly commended them for their truth, duty, and service, which upon his fidelity and honor he did promise should be well considered by the King's Majesty." Highly thought of as was the conduct of the Mayor at the time, and great the reward the city received in various ways, the service rendered to the country can only be properly appreciated by carrying on the mind to the end of the century. The most momentous issues were dependant upon the power and will of the authorities to hold the city. Had Exeter fallen in the early days of the siege, it would have been of immense importance to the insurgent cause, both morally and materially—it would have left the rebel army free to pursue its course eastward, gathering strength and numbers at every step, for there was nothing to oppose it between Exeter and London. The country was in such a distracted state, owing to the shifty policy of the Lord Protector, that the insurgent cause would have probably gained the ascendancy; the seeds of the Reformation, successfully sown in the previous reign, would have been rooted up and scattered to the winds, and not until Elizabeth ascended the throne could the good work have been again commenced, and then under tenfold greater difficulties. Amidst the agitation consequent upon so great a revolution, where would have been the opportunity or the inclination for that beneficial legislation which aroused the dormant energy of the country during the latter half of the 16th century, and sent her forward in a career of progress only paralleled in this our own day? It is not too much to say that, by the fidelity of Exeter, the brilliant reign of Elizabeth acquired a colour which otherwise would have been gloomy indeed, that instead of a lengthened period of disturbance and stagnation, the nation was blessed for half a century with internal harmony and marvellous prosperity.

The city was rewarded. The manor of Exe-island, then held by the King, belonged not many years previously to the attainted Earl of Devon, and might again be restored to the family. There they had their own rule, their own laws, and their own guards, and laughed to scorn the authority of the Corporation. It was a thorn in the side of civic dignity, besides being a scandal and a

nuisance. Fearing lest it should be restored to the Courtenays, the Chamber had used the greatest efforts to purchase the manor of the King, but without success. They employed Burgesses of Parliament, on their behalf, to offer an extravagant price, and volunteered a handsome *douceur* to anyone who should succeed in obtaining for them the much coveted property. What money could not purchase for the city, the fidelity of her governors did. The King, in gratitude for their services, and in the most graceful spirit, freely gave them the manor of Exe-island, with all the considerable rights thereto belonging. It remains to the Corporation a lasting monument of the courage and loyalty of John Blackaller and his brethren.







EXETER DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

CHAPTER I.

During the first part of Charles's reign—indeed up to a period approaching the great crisis, the political troubles do not appear to have affected that prosperity which our city had enjoyed from the days of Elizabeth.

The staple trade in woollen cloths and serges, for which Exeter had almost a world-wide renown, was at its best, and besides supplying the home markets, a very large foreign business was done, the merchants exporting their goods in their own ships and bringing back the produce of foreign countries to our port.

The Haven dues let for as much as £160 a year, and there was no Basin then, and the Canal extended no further than Trenchard's Sluice, by Countess Weir Bridge. It may also be noted in connexion with the river that the fishing of Exe Island let for £6 a year, an industry which the march of improvement has destroyed.

The raw material was brought in on market days and sold in the Wool Hall—the large room underneath the Latin Free School of St. John's Hospital. It must have been a busy scene here every week, as large quantities of wool changed hands, the privilege of weighing it being let for as much as £40 a year—whilst that for weighing the woollen thread at the Yarn Market in South Street realized £23 a year.

But the centre of the principal business was the New Inn in High Street, where Mr. Green's premises now are. This belonged to the Corporation, and besides the Hotel, it contained the Cloth Hall, and shops for the London Merchants; altogether a handsome rental was produced, the Inn letting for £40 a year, the Hall for £23, and the Shops for £67.

There were also weekly markets for cattle and hides at St. John's Bow, the meat market at the shambles in South Street, (until a mutiny amongst the butchers led to its being closed,) and the usual market for country produce held in High Street.

Picturesque as the appearance of the city would be,—

“Where houses, whelving houses meet,·

And vault, with beetle brows, a shelving street.”

hemmed in by the massive walls, which afforded a healthful place of recreation for the citizens, its sanitary state was such as to render it anything but a pleasurable place of residence, with its close narrow streets, along the centre of which ran the only drains—open and offensive to more senses than one—the great heap of corruption in the grave-yard of the Cathedral Close, and the general nuisance arising from the number of animals kept in the place. Then, as the result, there was the constant panic about the plague, which sometimes came in earnest, and, for a time, put a stop to business—fairs and markets being suspended, and all persons and goods refused admission within the gates, unless provided with a certificate of freedom from the dire disease. To go out of one's house after dark would be an adventure attended with some peril, the only guide being the light which every inhabitant was compelled, on dark nights, between Allhallowtide and Candlemas, to set forth at his door until nine o'clock.

The Municipal Governors of the City, the Mayor and Aldermen, and twenty-four, were wealthy and prosperous merchants, the chief men of the place. A self-elective body, when a vacancy occurred the most fitting man was appointed to fill it. Up to a certain time the strife of party feeling was unknown, all presumably being animated with the same spirit—the desire to do their duty. Doubtless there were two shades of religious sentiment in the body, but this would not yet affect their municipal duties. The difference between the high Churchman and the early Puritan was not so great but that they could worship in the same building, and with the same service. Later on, persecution drove Puritanism into a system of hateful bigotry and fanaticism, but the Puritanism of Ignatius Jurdain, and the Crossings, was a very different thing—they were good Churchmen according to the principles of

the Reformation, loyal to the King, in charity with all men, and, albeit, of somewhat grave and sober demeanour, not averse to civic festivity on occasions. It must be remarked that there was a shadow of influence which overhung the local government, as yet scarcely perceptible, but which deepened and became a power when events developed themselves. It was represented by the Earl of Bedford, the great man of the place, who, by-and-bye, ranged himself on the side of the Parliament. On one occasion his lordship writes a letter to the Mayor, stating that he has some reason to suppose that "SOME DISRESPECTE WAS PRETENDED TO BE OFFERED TO HYM" by the Chamber. The members are fluttered at the imputation, which they profess themselves free from, and regret that it should have been made. They move that Mr. Berrie's man be asked if he raised the report, and that Mr. Mayor, in his lordship's secretaries' presence, do clear this house of that "aspersion" if he may.

The wealth of the city being considerable, and the citizens prosperous, the attention of the Chamber is turned in the direction of local improvements, not forgetting its own dignity and comfort. Northernhay is levelled and planted with trees, and a place set apart for the private recreation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and twenty-four of the city. A new hat of maintenance and an embroidered scabbard are bestowed upon the Sword bearer, and, to be in keeping with this splendour, the younger sort of the twenty-four are to wear their better gowns at morning service of the Cathedral, as well for their own respects as for the support of the honor of the city.

The waits have new gowns and coats provided for them, and a new player is appointed with a "TESTIMONIAL OF HIS GOOD DEMEANOUR AND CARRIAGE." One of the ambitious schemes of the day was a proposal to bring the river Exe through the city—not an impracticable work, it was only a question of money,—but it required long consideration, so long that the troubles came and the money went, and so it was shelved for ever. One useful undertaking the Chamber did carry out, and it was much needed. The only burying ground in the city was that surrounding the Cathedral, and so raised had it become by the accumulation of

bodies, that it threatened to overwhelm the building itself. Sir Nathaniel Brent, Vicar-General to the lord's grace of Canterbury, found it necessary to come down on the important business, for there were vested interests to be respected, and the local State was not on the best of terms with the local Church. The Vicar-General was dined by the Mayor, and Lord Keyes entertained at the same time. Either the dinner was uncommonly good or the negotiations more successful than expected—perhaps both—for the Chamber express themselves “much beholding unto Mr. Mayor” on the occasion, and voted him 20 marks. Bartholomew burying ground was the result of this visit, but it was not opened until two years had passed away in battles about a site.

Proper regulations were drawn up, and one in particular is interesting, after a recent controversy in the columns of the *Times* as to whether bodies were buried otherwise than in coffins, within civilized times. The Grave digger “*shall not receive for any grave there to be made for any corpse to be buried without a coffyn above the some of five pence and not above the some of xviid. for any grave with a coffyn.*”

Ten years of Charles's reign passed away, and the King, more bent than ever on acquiring absolute power, was trying the experiment of doing without any Parliament at all.

Worse than this, his Majesty showed himself earnest in his endeavours to force Episcopacy on the Scottish Church and what were considered Popish practices in the service.

There can be no doubt that at this time there was a real dread of the aggressive spirit of the Romanist party, which was supposed—and with some reason—to be paramount at Court. People had not yet forgotten Guy Fawkes and his doings, and a nervous apprehension prevailed of machinations and plots to bring about the ascendancy of the papacy. Even the King was believed to be an unwilling victim to the arts and devices of the Papists, and it was thought that he required all the support of his loyal Protestant subjects to keep him in the right road. When his Majesty's proclamation appeared, touching the seditious practices (in matters of religion) of “some” of Scotland, it excited the sorrowful indignation of the faithful; it was read out

by order in our Cathedral Church at the morning service (the Corporation being present in state), and proved too much for the feelings of some, for in the face of the uncovered congregation, the Mayor and the venerable Crossing and Jurdain, Aldermen, silently and solemnly protested against the manifesto, by putting on their hats.

This Jurdain was a rather remarkable man; he appears to have come to Exeter sometime during the reign of Elizabeth and, at that prosperous period, to have done well for himself. He became a Puritan of the most rigid type, being known as the Arch-Puritan. His biographer relates that it was his constant practice, for many years together, even to his old age, to rise between two and three o'clock in the morning, and then to meditate and pray until six, when family devotion commenced. As Mayor of Exeter and for twenty-four years a magistrate of the city, he administered justice with a stern and relentless hand, and so numerous were the fines which he imposed for swearing oaths and trivial offences, that his enemies declared he made a handsome purse out of them; but the accounts which he left at his death—kept with rigorous exactitude—showed clearly that all the monies he had received were honestly accounted for. He twice represented the city in Parliament, and promoted the Bill for the observance of the Lord's Day and against swearing. When the plague was at one time raging in Exeter, so that the Mayor and all the principal inhabitants fled the city, he remained alone to administer justice and conduct public business. In James the First's reign he sent the King a written protest against the royal book of sports, for which His Majesty threatened "to hang the fellow." He died in the year 1640, and bequeathed one-third of his property to the poor of Exeter, Guernsey, and Lyme.

Probably this little incident in the Cathedral gave birth to the party spirit, which dates from this time, in the local Council. In an election to vacancies in the Chamber, the Puritan, or what soon became the Parliamentary Party, succeeded in getting in the thin end of the wedge, by carrying their men for all three seats. Some exceptional influence had been at work, and the

other side were caught by surprise, an animated discussion arose, and it was plainly seen that some members had been coerced, for a resolution was at once adopted that all elections should in future be by secret scrutiny. The majority thus obtained, though not a legitimate one, for it did not represent the majority of the citizens, was steadily improved; and quietly, but persistently worked out its own ends, but like all false aims, at a great sacrifice.

The times are serious, and there is work to be done—the members must be in their places by nine o'clock, under a penalty—"two tankards, lately bought, and not being so useful, spoons to be purchased," would lead one to suppose that the hospitalities were to continue though with more abstemious habits, but alas! just afterwards the City Cook is requested to resign on a pension of £4. Such levities as Corporation banquets must be dispensed with, much to the joy of the Sheriff, who thought he would follow suit, and failed to give the usual dinners: he was made painfully aware of his mistake, however, when called upon to pay a fine of £10 for the omission.

Stage plays had become so degraded as to be intolerable to the sober mind; so certain players coming to the city with a commission, are put off on the plea of the danger of the times, and get 40s. for going away.

The old feud between the Chamber and the Dean and Chapter now blazes up more fiercely than ever—the civic body in effecting some improvements had sorely ruffled the temper of the Capitular. It was determined to open a new street from St. Stephen's Bow to the city wall and into the open country known as Southernhay—this street is now in existence as Egypt lane. In order to do this, certain obstructions occurred at the end of the gardens of the Canons, which the Chamber, notwithstanding the protests of the Chapter, cleared away, and carried out their design with a high hand. The Chamber had heard of a petition of grievances from the Cathedral body, but they are astounded and incredulous when it is reported, at a meeting, that the Bishop had taken part in the quarrel, and had signed the petition. Then and there a deputation is sent down to the Palace, to learn the truth of the

matter, and the Chamber would sit till its return. They did not gain much, however, by their action, for the Bishop, admitting he had signed the petition, would give no particulars—the Chamber would find out in time and they would learn that what was complained of, there was just cause for complaining of, and so on.

How this was settled does not appear, but as both bodies seemed to find much pleasure in a chronic state of squabbling, the dispute was probably made continuous in order to prolong their delight. A slight subsidence of acrimony leads to a request that the Chamber will be pleased to attend the Cathedral services on Coronation day and other festivals; which they graciously condescend to do “soe as there may be fitting seates or places appointed out for them”—to sit in.

The Chamber lost one of their most useful members at this time in Alderman Francis Crossing—all the Crossings were Parliament men, wealthy, and of high position; the name will not be forgotten in Exeter as long as St. John's Hospital exists. The Hospital children were allowed to precede the body of the deceased Alderman as it was borne to the grave, and if any person of quality should like to go, he may, without paying for the privilege.

The time when Charles finally broke with his Parliament and the waters of strife were let out, is preceded by quarrels and commotions. The butchers break out into open mutiny, so that the shambles have to be closed, and rather an unpleasant state of affairs is shown in the petition to the Mayor, of “John Newman,” who complains “that he cannot come home to his house, nott to repayre his house, neither to receave his rents nor to releve his wyfe and family for the cruelty of those rebells who are proclaimed soe to be in your Cittie and in other places against his maties lawes.” The Walls are repaired, watches set every night, and all the inhabitants are ordered, through the public bellman, to have a “Chubbe” or some other fitting weapon in readiness for the preservation of the peace according to the ancient order of the city “which is a thinge of late much neglected.”

Mr. Muster-master Vaughan seems to have found some work to do beyond his appointed duties, for he is voted £10 10s., for

his kindness to the poor in setting their bones, curing their wounds and hurts. Those clubs were terrible weapons in a street brawl.

Eleven years of Government by prerogative have passed away;—in place of Parliament, the nation has groaned under the triple despotism of the Privy Council, the Star Chamber and the High Commission.

The King and Strafford aiming at absolute power, Laud labouring to unprotestantise the Church of England; tyranny in the Church and tyranny in the State went hand in hand. The King's necessity for money to carry on the war with the Scots, to pay his own army, already clamorous for arrears of pay, compelled him at length to summon a Parliament. This was decided on in December, 1639, but it was not until the following April that the writs were issued; in the meantime our Chamber had selected their members in the persons of Robert Walker and Simon Snowe, Esquires, and their "wages" amounted to 4s. a day for each day's attendance at Parliament. Mr. Walker had for years been the medium of communication, in matters of politics between the Chamber and headquarters, and at one time was intrusted with four salmon pies to be distributed amongst the city's friends in London.

No sooner had the new Parliament assembled than it entered upon an enquiry into the state of the nation. Grievances were examined, especially that of ship money, and the Commons refused to vote supplies until the exactions and oppressions they had suffered from during the long intermission, should be thoroughly discussed. The King insisted upon the supplies first, and would allow them ample time afterwards for discussion; thus the old differences were renewed, and this short Parliament, which assembled in a conciliatory spirit, was dissolved in anger almost as soon as it met. Before the end of the year the defeat of the King's forces by the Scots, financial difficulties, and disorder in every function of the Government, compelled the convening of another Parliament, that which has become memorable in history, as the Long Parliament. It met in a different temper to the last. Hampden and Pym were amongst its members, and they, on the issue of the writs, had ridden England through to urge upon the people to choose for themselves, as their right and duty.

Almost the first act of the Commons was the impeachment of Strafford, soon followed by that of Laud, and the passing of the "Grand Remonstrance" alleging the existence of a conspiracy to subvert the laws, to degrade Protestantism, and to discredit Parliament, imputing all the grievances to the effect of evil councils, which Charles showed no disposition to throw off; but still clung to those whose advice had covered the nation with disgrace. The members for our city, or rather our Chamber, (for they were elected by the Corporation), were in their places, supporting the patriotic party, during the passage of these eventful measures through the House, and they must have been witnesses of that dramatic scene when Charles came down to the House of Commons, took the Speaker's Chair, and demanded the arrest of the five members; but found that the birds had flown, and returned disconcerted, with the cry of "privilege" ringing in his ears. Notwithstanding that the patience of the people was nearly exhausted with these contentions and high-handed proceedings, there was not at this time much show of disloyalty; and were it not that the great mass of the people had become so sensitive on the religious question, and the fancied peril in which Protestantism stood, it is by no means certain that the King would not have had support enough to enable him to trample on the privileges of Parliament, as he had done before, and rule in his own fashion over an acquiescent if not a contented people.

The Queen Henrietta succeeded in passing over to Holland with the crown jewels, on which she raised some two millions sterling for the exigencies of the King, whose persistence in demanding the impeachment of the five members had brought him into direct conflict with the House, and all London was in commotion. Just a week after Charles's mad and unconstitutional act, the Chamber met, and the result of their deliberations shows that the echo of the popular excitement in town had reached our western country.

"This day five several petitions were presented to this House
 "subscribed by manie of the Comons & inhabitants of this Cittie
 "expresing sevrall dangers apprehended by them to the decaye
 "of their trades occasioned by the disturbances in London, &

“opposicons by bishoppes & popishe lordes in parliament with
 “their desires that the same may be psented to his mat^{ie} & the
 “houses of Parliamt^t wch. particulars having byn much debated it
 “is agreed that the petitions shalbe fitted for his mat^{ie} & the
 “Parliament by Mr. Hakewill, Mr. James White, Mr. James
 “Gould, & Mr. Richard Crossing wth all convenient speede for
 “the purposes beforementioned. Alsoe Mr. Adam Bennett &
 “Mr. John Cupper, are desired on the behalfe of this Chamber
 “to undertake a journey to London to exhibit the same & that
 “their charges shalbe borne of this house, divers of the comons
 “pferring to goe with them uppon their owne charges; But it is
 “desired that this be fitted and speeded away because sevall
 “psons of Devon goe in the like business from that Countie.”

Two or three days later the petitions were sealed, and a warrant granted for Messrs. Bennett and Cupper, who were requested to hasten their journey.

What effect these petitions may have had it is difficult to say, but this we know, that pieces of plate, each of the value of 50s., were given to the four who went to London with them.

In the following July the Parliament demanded the control of the Militia, and asked the royal assent to a bill giving them that power, but the King peremptorily refused. They retorted by passing a measure resolving to raise an army, and appoint the Earl of Essex, General thereof, but at the same time made a last overture to the King praying for peace. In response His Majesty summoned his adherents to rally round him at York, and sent out his Commissioners to array all loyal subjects in armed defence of the Crown. The civil war had begun; but news in those days was uncertain and slow in travelling. Our local authorities thought that even yet there was time for a settlement, and so towards the end of the month “it is agreed that 2 severall
 “petitions shalbe forthwith prepared, th’one for his mat^{ie} th’other
 “for the Parliament expressing the greate feares the petitioners
 “have att present of the distraccons & supplicating for a happie
 “accomodation.”

The authorities had for some time been making careful preparation for the events which they had evidently anticipated. The

Lords of the Council, not long before, had ordered the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Bedford, and his son, to see that the city was well supplied with guns and ammunition, little dreaming that the first use for them would be in opposition to their own party.

The gates were placed under proper control, and a free passage all round the walls cleared for the patrol of the watchmen and the shifting of the guns. Officials with objectionable proclivities were quietly removed, and their places filled with those whose opinions coincided with those of the civic rulers. Night watches for the preventing of dangers in the night were established, and watch and ward against an enemy which no gates could keep out—the plague—which was stalking through the land, carrying dismay and death in its train.

In the midst of such dangers and excitement, it is curious to note that the old custom, requiring every new member to bring in a gilt spoon to Blundell's feast, is ordered to be rigidly enforced, and the plate added to the city store. Perhaps it was foreseen that the time was at hand when every spoon would be wanted.

The Parliamentary party in the Chamber appear to have had the field entirely to themselves, although the majority could not have been so large as to entirely swamp the influence of the other side, which, however, persistently absented itself. There seems to have been an understanding, or it was a matter of compulsion, that the dominant party at the Castle should find itself supported by and in accord with, the party conducting affairs at the Guildhall.

No sooner had the King declined, with an oath, to give assent to the Militia Bill, presented by what he was pleased to call a mongrel Parliament, and hastened northwards to raise his standard at Nottingham, thus formally declaring civil war, than the Earl of Bath came westward to see how matters stood in Exeter, and if this stronghold could be secured for the King's adherents: the record is as follows:—

“1642, *9th August*.

“This day Mr. James Tucker and Mr. John Hakewill Aldr.
 “and Mr. James Gould and Mr. John Colleton are desired to
 “meet the right honble the Earl of Bath who is this day
 “expected to this Cittie and to deliver this message hereunder
 “written.

“ That if the Committee doe fynde that the Earle of Bathe doe
 “ come in an ordinarie way unarmed that then they or one of
 “ them or some messenger from them under their hands hasten
 “ their retorne to give notice to the Captayne attending the gate
 “ where he is to come in att that he may be received withall due
 “ respecte. But if they fynde he comes in a warlike manner with
 “ more than one hundred of armed men, that then they inform
 “ his Ldshp. of this order and desire hym, that yf he intends to
 “ enter into the Citie in that manner that he will first before his
 “ entrie give them leave to inform Mr. Maior and his brethren
 “ thereof and they will forthwith retorne his Ldshp. their
 “ resolucons.”

Nothing came of it, however, and it does not appear that he entered within the gates; his errand was a fruitless one, for already Earl Bedford was hastening down, with a commission from the Parliament, to assemble the Militia.

The Mayor, the Sheriff, and five Aldermen, all of the Parliamentary party, of course, were appointed the Commissioners for Exeter, and they had power to seize horses and ammunition and everything they might consider necessary, for the new army. Amongst the municipal Records may be found particulars of the bodies of volunteers (as they were called) raised at this time. There are the names of the Captains of the Companies and of every individual soldier, with the pay he received.

The Ensign got 10s. a week; Sergeants, 10s. and 5s.; Drummers, 6s.; Corporals, 5s. and 4s.; Gunners, £2 10s. a month; and Privates, 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d. a week; with 4s. a week when engaged in the country. The City, it appears, could not provide a person capable of organizing and training the forces.

“ Whereas, it hath byn ppounded by the Committee for the
 “ safetie of the Cittie that some ingeneer, or other person well
 “ experienced in marshall disciplyne, should he pcured to be here
 “ continuallie resident for the better defence of this Cittie, and
 “ to be assisting and attendant on the captaynes here in these
 “ tymes of combustion. It is agreed that if such a pson may be
 “ pcured from London or any other place that shall be approved
 “ of by this house for that service that this house shall be
 “ ingaged to pay unto hym xxxl. yerely towards his pencon and
 “ expences.”

A suitable officer was found in one Mr. Bagster, and he did his work so satisfactorily that the Chamber voted him £10, beyond his salary, for the "extraordinary pains" he had taken.

The City walls gave anxious trouble to the authorities, they seem to want repair in every direction, and encroachments had been tacitly permitted, which it is difficult now to do away with. The Archdeacon of Cornwall had stopped up a common way to the wall by his house, and refused to restore the passage. He is called upon to remove the obstruction forthwith, and if he refuses, it is ordered to be done by force.

A subway or vault, near the East-gate, which, in former sieges afforded a communication between the Castle and the Gate, is ordered to be stopped up, and the wall put into a thorough state of repair, by Southernhay, as far as South-gate. Matches and ammunition in large quantities are purchased, and an order passed that "the Cittie's guns, viz., three ordinances and three "stock fflowlers, be forthwith mounted, and a barrel of common "sort of powder bought, for the trial of these and other guns "brought in."

For preventing many dangers threatened the city, it is agreed that the several gates shall be shut every night at six o'clock, and the wickets at eight o'clock, and no one to be permitted to go in or out after those hours. One source of danger is dealt with summarily, by the dismissal of the Chaplain to the Corporation, who was not quite orthodox, and had given cause for complaints by divers misdemeanours. The owners and occupiers of the orchards outside the walls, on Southernhay, are warned forthwith in these times of "soe great danger" to take down all trees within sixteen feet of the wall, and stakes are provided for the Deputy Lieutenants to fortify the outlying posts in the suburbs. Whilst these precautions are being taken against enemies from without, there is no lack of vigilance concerning those within the walls—doubtless they were very numerous, and they appear to have had their head-quarters somewhere in the neighbourhood of East-gate, and that vault which the authorities are so anxious to stop up. One Orchard's house was here situated, and it was supposed that it had secret communications with the wall, a

hollow tower, and the gaol. Some of the suspected were ordered to be secured and put forth the city, whilst Jonathan Hawkyne's house was watched nightly by soldiers.

A week after the first battle, at Edgehill, between the Royal and Parliamentary troops, seeing the very large expenditure they had already made, and with the prospect of still greater staring them in the face, the Chamber decided to invite to their councils ten of the Commons, or outsiders, to consider of some fitting course for raising money and better defending the city. Money was wanted at once, and some was raised on the spot at £6 13s. 4d. per cent. interest.

An interesting document was discovered amongst a heap of rubbish in the Record-room of the Guildhall—it gives us some insight into the arrangements made for the defence of the city, and there are indications that the troops and the citizens were not wholly to be depended upon in respect of loyalty to the Parliament. The papers are not signed, and there is nothing to show whence they emanated, but there can be no doubt they represent the instructions of the City Commissioners, and they bear date the 23rd January, 1642. This is confirmed, to some extent, by the fact that on the 9th January the Earl of Stamford is in the West, organizing his army, but not yet in Exeter.

“This day it is agreed that there shall be one hundred pounds
“bestowed on the Right Hono. the Earle of Stamford, nowe
“Lord Genall., appointed by the Parliamt. for these Western
“Counties, as gratuitie from this Cittie, in regard of his honb.
“regards of the same wh. is desired of hym.”

In the following May he was in command at Exeter, and in July the Chamber voted him a further sum of £200. One of the General's first acts was to cause the dismissal of the Recorder, Sir Peter Ball, and the appointment of Mr. Edmund Prideaux to the office.

THE DOCUMENT.

An^o 1642, January 23rd daye.

1—That the Magazin be forthwith viewed and made up as follows:—

Powder	..	..	..	..	..	80	Barrils
Match	..	..	..	..	..	40	C waight
Musket Bullets of sev ^{ll} sizes	..	..	..	..	..	30	C waight
Carbine Bullets	..	..	..	..	..	4	C waight

Cannon Shot 1000 of sevⁿ sizes & ye Gunners direcon

Two chambers to every Stock fflowler & 2 or 3 Stock fflowlers more to be procured.

- 2—That more Gunners be procured, men to be confided in.
- 3—That a douzn iron rods with wormes & scowrers be made ffor the musketts & some to be at each Gate & the Castle.
- 4—That 4 or 5 Companyes of Volunteers of the Country be procured.
- 5—That 40 inhabitants of the Citty, men to be confided in may be added to the Capt^{ns} & Officers of the Volunteers to take their turnes to be over the watches at the severall Corpe de Garde.
- 6—That some choice men be considdered for the Castle.
- 7—That the dikes about the Citty be made deeper & more ffalling & people summoned by the drum for expedition & the walls & howses removed.
- 8—That the Great Church be kept continually shut & a Guarde ther by night and a trustie man to keep the keyes.
- 9—That fflankers be made & Capt. Baxter's direcon.
- 10—That Turnepikes be set at each gate & at the bridge foot.
- 11—That dikes & drawbridges be made at each gate to prevent blowing up the gate.
- 12—That Topsham & the river be effectually secured & that Powderham Castle be demolished or secured & Radford house fortified.
- 13—That some fortification be made at Cowley Bridge so as to command the way from Stoke.
- 14—That the remote partes of the suburbs be barricaded.
- 15—That there be strict restraint of the prisoners and none be suffered to speake with them but by order of the deputie Lieutenants & in presence of the Corporall of the watch and none to preach here but by permission.
- 16—That all malignants & disaffected psons be secured or dismist.
- 17—That noe women or children nor householde goodes be passed out of the Citty without order of ye deputie Lieutenants.
- 18—That in case of ffire some Aldermen be named within the parish to cleer the streete by a pclamation that the Committy may attend it, who are to prepare buckets & crookes &c. beforehand.
- 19—That all hay & straw be removed from about ye Guildhall.
- 20—That proclamacon be made to require every man to make provision of corne pease & other needfull thinges & also of ffewell.
- 21—That handmills be procured from the country &c. there being one in St. Thomas Parish.
- 22—That all disaffected persons be thoroughly disarmed & their howses duly searched.
- 23—That for securing the Mills the Clift at head-ware bee made good.
- 24—That St. David's Hill be secured where theres most comande.
- 25—That the wall twixt Eastgate and the Castle be viewed & that some comon passage be opened & the high geole & Orchard's howse be carefully looked into having outlets to the said wall, and a hollow tower in this wall to be repaired & a vault from the Geole.

- 26—That Dr. Salter, Mr. Rody, Thos. Orchard and ors. who came lately in to be secured or put forth of the City.
- 27—That the Winners be made good and the Streets before it.
- 28—That the Guildhall without Eastgate be secured for the passage from Paris-St and the lane going into Southernhay by crossing the 'Sink' (or Sunk) to be dammed up.
- 29—That the trees in Southernhay be cut down and brought into the City and some of those in the Bonney.
- 30—That the trees in the old Churchyard be carried to every gate some.
- 31—That more Corps de Guard houses be appointed.
- 32—That strict discipline may be observed towards all soldiers that neglect their duty.
- 33—particular faithful men to
that a considerable quantity of Match, Bullets, Balls, & if you can procure some mortar pieces they will be very useful.
- 34—To order that some turnepikes, flankers, or galleries, according to former description be made presently without the walls.
- 35—To take an exact muster of the men, and their arms which are now within this City, as well (? regulars) as volunteers & also those that are fit to bear arms & have none, as also that each householder present to within this parish what quantity of arms & what sort of arms he hath within his house to the intent that on any extraordinary occasion they may be brought forth and not otherwise: and if any shall refuse to certify the number of their arms that those that do so shall be severely punished & lose their arms.
- 36—That this being done Mr. Mayor & the deputy express how many soldiers they think needful to be called into the City and when.
- 37—That one particular time be assigned to meet to consult during these times and exactly observed.
- 38—That an express be sent to the Parliament with desires for arms &c. as above said.
- 39—That a letter be written to General Stamford to desire his care of this place.
- 40—That a constant courier (be had) for to have intelligences, and scouts settled so that when one comes in another may go out.
- The walls to be exactly searched without and within the walls, in all houses and sellers that are adjoining, specially Orchard's house at Eastgate and Southgate prison.
- No watches to be sent to their Courts of to any quarter till
examined if they have powder match and bullets.
- Let all ye centinells be firelock and snapances.
- Let every soldier have 4 bandoliers of powder, 4 bullets, and 2 yards of match worn about his arm, and one to view them every paydaie, and allowe out of their wages for anything mispent.
- No bells to ring for any dead, or clocks to strike, while the City is besieged.

A corps de garde to be kept in ye old churchyard, and to sit in St. Maries tower and bellfrie with 2 centinells on ye toppe of ye tower.

The watch to be set at an exact time at ye ringing of Guildhall bell wch shall ring, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter of an houre: and punishment for ye absent and for late comers.

All corporalls should be directed in what cases to beate an Allarum.

Before we go further it may be as well to give some particulars of the expenses incurred by the Chamber under the first short reign of the Parliament men in Exeter. There is a complete balance sheet preserved, an exact copy of which is upon the next page.



Expenditure and Receipts incurred by the Mayor and Chamber in preparing the City for defence against the forces which may be sent against the Parliament troops herein stationed.

FORTIFICATIONS.

Jan. 1642-3 to August. Money expended on the Fortifications

4374

£1000 paid to Citizens for repairing the Walls
£300 for 17 packs of wool taken from Mr.

Robin's Cellars for the Barracadoes and fences upon the bridge and other places for defence of the City against the Enemy.

SUM TOTAL.

Account of Provisions	756	14
Ammunition	3769	10 6
Soldiers pay	9442	2 9
Scouts	136	13 6
Fortifications	4374	11 3

18479 12

The balance of this Account comes far short of the moneys laid out in this City for the service of Parliament for a good part whereof the City of Exeter stands engaged by their public seal and particular persons who were then Deputy Lieutenants by their Bonds and Engagements for which the City lands have been extended and judgments and executions granted against the said Deputy Lieutenants and their Executors.

Adam Bennett
Richard Saunders
John Hakewill
Cr Clarke

Received by Mr. Edward Anthony Treasurer in Moneys and plate voluntarily subscribed and advanced by the inhabitants of the City of Exon upon the proposicons of Parliament £4465 3 8 whereof was by him deducted for losse on the saide plate £367 12 7 soe received of him neate as p his accompt

4097 11 1

Rec^d by Mr. William Bartlett Treasurer in plate voluntarily subscribed by the said inhabitants upon the said pposicons with £10 in moneys the sum of £427 10 8 which plate being sold at severall prices produced onely £361 19 10 soe rec^d neate is

361 19 10

4459 10 11

Soe for balance of this accompt there rests dew fowerteenethousand and twenty powndes one shilling one penny halfpenny

14020 1 1½

18279 12 ½

Wee the late Deputy Lieutenants of the City of Exon doe believe this to bee a just and true accompt

Adam Bennett
Rich^d Saunders
John Hakewill
Cr Clarke

When the Earl of Stamford, who took Earl Bedford's place in the city (the latter nobleman, as General of the Horse in the Parliamentary army, being engaged elsewhere), first came to Exeter he brought some of the country troops with him, so that altogether there was a very large force within the walls. The adverse party must, however, have been strong and bold, or Mr. Gregory, an uncompromising Royalist, would never have had the coolness to intrude upon the watch at twelve o'clock at night, give them ill terms—saying all the volunteers were rogues, and expressing a hope they would soon be put out of the city, and Mr. Saunders, the Mayor, after them.

About the middle of May the Earl of Stamford, with a body of 1,400 horse, 5,400 foot, a train of thirteen brass ordnance and a mortar piece, and ammunition and commissariat ample and excellent—provided by the good citizens of Exeter—who are described as men who wanted no money) marched forth from Exeter to meet the Royal troops which were assembling about Launceston: so absolute a contempt had his lordship for his adversary, that his only thought was how to cut off his retreat, and capture the whole party. The result was the battle of Stratton, where Lord Stamford having stood at a safe distance, and well protected during the action, saw his army utterly routed, and fled in dismay back to Exeter with the loss of all his guns, ammunition, and provisions. The gentleman who was, a day or two afterwards, committed to Sessions, represented no inconsiderable portion of the public feeling, when he expressed himself “as
“ nothing sorrowed at the disaster * * * * no matter if
“ they had all suffered.”

The effect of this reverse upon the city was the demand for further funds to recruit the great losses sustained. These were forthcoming.

“ This day it is agreed that in regard of the extraordinarie
“ occasions for the defence and perservacon of the Cittie during
“ this present unnaturell warr there shalbe borrowed of such
“ prsons as will be pleased to lend the same, the sune of £2,000
“ and that the Chamber shall give the Citties comon seale unto
“ everie pticuler man, who shall lend anie pt thereof to be required

“at the end of 3, 6 or 12 monthes with consideration of 6, 7 or 8
 “per cent for the forbearance thereof, as the lenders can be agreed
 “wthall, and that if any Spanish peeces of eight shall be lent by
 “any man they shalbe received in 5s. the ounce.”

(£400 advanced at once by members—£100 by the Mayor—and all obtained by the beginning of August.)

The successes of the King's troops in the west and the surrender of the city of Bristol into the hands of the Royalists caused a panic amongst the Lords, and they desired the Commons to go with them in propositions for peace, but the violent party in the house would not hear of it. Not caring to proceed to such extremities as events were hurrying them on, Earl Bedford, with other noblemen, went over to the Court party and placed himself at the disposal of the King, but it does not appear that he was very favourably received.

This movement of the Earl's, together with the, as yet, moderate counsels which prevailed at the Guildhall, and the strong feeling of loyalty which the citizens were known to possess but were obliged to conceal under military pressure, lessened considerably any desire the Commissioners may have had to prolong the resistance, when Prince Maurice fresh from decisive victories, laid siege to Exeter. The Parliament some little time before, had commended the relief of this place to Earl Warwick, the Admiral, who, with a fair wind, brought his fleet up the river Exe, thinking by that way to place himself in communication with the city; but his design was frustrated by Sir John Berkely, who had been watching the fleet for some days. Placing his light horsemen in ambush in the nooks that abounded in the marshes by the river side, whenever a landing was attempted they charged home and drove the enemy back to their ships; this so impeded the advance, that the tide began to fall, and the Admiral had only just time to clear out with his flagship, leaving three vessels stranded, one of which was burnt and the others captured.

A hundred years before John Blackaller, the Mayor, held the city for six weeks, in the cause of King Edward, with only a hundred faithful men, against ten thousand desperate rebels striving to enter, until relief came and he gave up his trust

unsullied. Prince Maurice was but fourteen days before the city which contained a force equal to his own, and well furnished in every way, and it was surrendered without other distress to the citizens than being prevented taking the air beyond the walls. So the Parliamentary army marched out, without the honours of war, or any lament on the part of the inhabitants.

On the 4th September, 1643, Prince Maurice entered Exeter at the head of his victorious troops, and was well received by the citizens. Sir John Berkeley, knight, had the appointment of Governor bestowed upon him, and he, and John Acland, of Columb John, Sir Richard Chomley, of Bickton, and Sir Richard Vivian, were admitted to the liberties of the city, gratis.

Herrick pays a tribute to the honesty and staunch loyalty of Berkeley in the following lines:—

“Stand forth, brave man, since Fate has made thee here
The Hector over aged Exeter ;
Who for a long sad time has weeping stood
Like a poore lady lost in widowhood :
But feares not now to see her safety sold,
As other Townes and Cities were, for gold,
By those ignoble births, which shame the stem
That gave progermination unto them :
Whose restlesse ghosts shall heare their children sing,
Our Sires betrayed their Countrey and their King,
True if this Citie seven times rounded was
With rocke, and seven times circumflankt with brasse,
Yet, if thou wert not, Berkley, loyall prooffe,
The Senators down tumbling with the rooffe,
Would into prais'd, but pitied, ruines fall,
Leaving no shew where stood the Capitol.
But thou are just and itchlesse, and dost please
Thy genius with two strengthning buttresses,
Faith, and Affection, which will never slip
To weaken this thy great Dictationship.”

Notwithstanding the enormous sums of money already expended in the fruitless defence of the city, the Chamber contrive to raise £500 for a present to be bestowed on the Prince and the Governor. But their resources are failing, and all through the Royalist occupation, they are put to desperate shifts to supply the insatiable demands made upon them.

The first consequence of the new regime is the disappearance of the familiar names from the reports of the meetings. Mr. Walker,

the member, however, appears to have trimmed his sails according to the times, and retains his seat; but Mr. Edward Prydeaux is removed from the Recordship—which it is affirmed he had no right to hold—and Sir Peter Ball is reinstated, as from the date when he was illegally dismissed by the opposite faction.

The minor offices, of course, change hands. One Hackwill is appointed “Key” of the prisons in the room of Cook, who by reason of the “troblous tymes” had allowed “divers” to escape.

The members of the Chamber, now holding the reins of power, have a fine field for the exercise of their energies. The plague is raging in the city, and in great danger of being increased and continued, from the filthy state of the streets and lanes—so bad as to be a “dishonor” to the government; a sly hit at the outgoing party. Every inhabitant is ordered to sweep and make clean his street, twice a week, Thursday and Saturday afternoons, in preparation for the two holy days, for Friday is now the Fast day by Royal command, and the market has to be held on Thursdays—an alteration which one Ursula Jeffery did not at all approve of, and gave it out as her opinion that it was a papist fast, “scandalous and seditious words” for which she was bound over to keep the peace. The city walls—especially about Southgate—have been knocked about and much damaged during the late siege, and there is the part of Exe bridge to be re-built, which had been pulled down to prevent the enemy from crossing the river. Soldiers have to be billeted and the garrison in the Castle supported, the Cavaliers being rather expensive gentlemen to have the keeping of. There is no lack of loyalty or liberality, but where is the money to come from? “those Puritan fellows” have impoverished the city, in a cause which was upset at “the first attempt”—so the authorities would argue—and now, “when we, the principal garrison and chief hope of the Royalists desire to show that we are true to our motto ‘Semper Fidelis,’ we are humiliated in our want of means.” A Committee “is appointed to consider of the right way to “prepare a rate in a pportionalle way after the rate of £40 a week “for the support of the garrison,” and the Commissioners for martial affairs are entreated to compel Mr. Bond’s Exors. to pay

in the tithes of Hennock. Three of the Chamber undertake also a perilous ride to Kingsbridge to look after the tithes "which by reason the Cittie was besieged could not be ordered as it should have byn"—and all the duties and dues to the city are required to be paid in at once.

Prince Maurice, who, according to Clarendon, dallied too long in this pleasant city, at length led his army westward, taking the town of Dartmouth, and thence marching on to lay siege to Plymouth. This latter place held out with such obstinacy, that the Prince probably called Sir John Berkeley to his councils, for we find that the Chamber agree to give the Governor one hundred pounds as a remembrance, he being then "to goe out of the "Cittie," and they trust that the money raised may be re-paid by the fines which may be imposed; which must have been rather discouraging to those who should lay themselves open to penalties. With the exception of Plymouth all these western parts had submitted to the King's forces, and the strength of the Royal cause was greatest in the west; so the Parliament in London determined to raise a great army and place it under the command of Sir Wm. Waller, with directions to proceed thither.

The King, as a counterblow, raised an extraordinary force, levied out of Bristol and other towns, re-inforced by horse and foot from Ireland and two regiments from Exeter, all under the command of Lord Hopton, for the purpose of intercepting Waller's march, and preventing interference with Prince Maurice's army before Plymouth. The keenest interest would be shown by the citizens of Exeter in the movements of these two great armies, for it was perceived that in all probability a decisive blow would be struck by one or the other, and that the final struggle would take place somewhere in the west.

News of preliminary skirmishes reached Exeter, and excited emotions varying according to the side which proved successful.

Whether it was that the ladies took a more active part in politics or that they were less discreet, it is certain that they occupied more than their share of the attention of the authorities.

Again we find one Marie Morris brought up and bound over to keep the peace for saying in a shop—in respect of a report in

the city of the routing of Sir Wm. Waller and his forces—to “two barrel-loaders, that though theirs was the day now, that “the longest day would have an end, thereby tending to sedition “and disheartening of the soldiers.”

And she was not far wrong, for Waller's “Lobsters” were playing havoc with the Cavaliers, and the prospects of the Royalists looked gloomy.

In the early spring of 1644, the King's own Parliament being at Oxford, where Mr. Walker and Mr. Snowe represented Exeter, it was decided by His Majesty, doubtless at the instance of the Chamber, that those members of the Corporation who, in these times, absented themselves from their duties should be dealt with decisively. It was no doubt desired to get rid of them altogether, but there being no precedent of a dismissal for political opinions, legal authority, or a show of it, was necessary to do so.

“Mr. Maior having lately received a letter from the King's “matie expressing his gracious desires to regayne the trade and “welfare of this Cittie and the auncient govt and order of the “same and doubting leaste the absence of some and the neglecte “of others of the Comon Counsell and officers of this Cittie in “their sevall places may much prejudice the furtherance of the “public weale here hath therefore by his said letter required all “psons to attend their sevall charges & if any be remisse in “pformance of their duties touching the same that some speichle “course be taken for remedying thereof & for yelding an acct to “his matie of their doings therein as by the said letter may “appeare.

“In pursuance whereof Mr. Maior doth appoint Saterday come “fortnight being the xxiii day of this instant marche to meete “and consider of the dismissal of such members of this Societie “as there shalbe reasonable cause to displace and then to make “eleccon of others in their roomes whereof the members now “psent are to take notice & ordereth that notice be given or left “at the houses of such as are now absent. And Mr. Maior is “desired to make knowne the same to Mr. Bennett & Mr. Gould “who by their letters have heretofore desired to leave their places “and to write to Mr. Phillipp Crossing & Mr. Richd Crossing if “he may, requiring them to give their attendances att the said “tyme as they will answeare their neglecte att their perills.”

Something, however, which does not transpire, occasioned the postponement of the consideration of the question.

The Parliament in London was showing great vigour in raising forces and improving the discipline and equipment of the soldiers, and it was given out that the spring would see Oxford surrounded by an army that would compel its surrender, together with the King himself and his belongings. The Queen became so alarmed, that, although in a delicate state of health, she determined not to remain in the threatened city, and so set out from thence about the beginning of April, coming to Exeter by easy stages, and arriving on the 1st May. Bedford house was made ready for her reception, and there she took up her abode. The visit necessitated another call upon the attenuated civic purse, and on the following day the Chamber met and agreed that £200 "shalbe psented to "the Queene's Mat^{ie} from this house as a testimonie of the "respecte of this house unto her Mat^{ie} now in this Cittie & Mr. "Maior is desired to deliver the same & Mr. Recorder & Mr. "Mallock & Mr. Walker are desired to accompany Mr. Maior in "the deliverie thereof the monie to be taken upp where it may "be gotten & the Cittie to give securitie for the same."

They were, however, scarcely prepared for a demand in the shape of fees from the Officers in Her Majesty's service—"but if right they will pay," or rather, perhaps, must. The resources of the city are all but exhausted, and there is Mr. Walker, the member, grumbling about his wages, which he affirms he has as much claim to, for attending the Parliament at Oxford, as those have who are now at Westminster. The question of the absenting members is to be discussed on the 16th of the month, but more than two months elapsed before the Chamber met again. Meanwhile a Princess has been born at Bedford house, and the Queen, ten days afterwards, (to escape possible capture by the Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Essex,) took her departure, in a litter, beside which her faithful physician, Sir John Winter, walked on foot the greatest part of the way to Falmouth, from which port she embarked and escaped to France. The gratitude of Her Majesty for the attention she received from the Governor during her brief sojourn in Exeter, is pleasingly left on record in a letter to the King, dated nearly twelve months afterwards:—

“ Farewell my dear heart : Behold the mark which you desire
 “ to have to know when I desire anything in earnest (*). I pray
 “ begin to remember what I spake to you concerning Jacke
 “ Berkeley for Master of the Wards.”

The King's anxiety as to the safety of the Queen led him at first to hurry his march westwards, in hopes of dispersing the enemy, eager for her capture, but when he heard of her flight and safety, the army was halted for a day or two, in order to gather re-inforcements.

The troops of Essex were already massing around the city, when the little princess, whose adventurous birth was but the prelude to a life of strange vicissitudes, underwent the ceremony of baptism with becoming fortitude and in great state, in the Cathedral Church, on the 21st July ; a new font having been erected for the purpose, surmounted by a rich canopy of state. She received the name of Henrietta, and her portrait, taken in after years as the Duchess of Orleans, hangs in our Guildhall.

Through the jealousies of the Parliamentary Commanders, Sir William Waller, despite the express orders of Parliament, found himself without much congenial occupation, in the midland counties, whilst Essex insisted upon undertaking the conquest of the west. The situation of the principal armies shortly to be concentrated for the final struggle may be thus briefly described—Prince Maurice before Plymouth—Essex before Exeter—the King on his march from Oxford, over the Cotswolds, by way of Bristol, to Exeter—Lord Hopton bringing up re-inforcements from South Wales and the border counties in support of His Majesty—Sir William Waller supposed to be on the King's trail, but as yet a long way off ;—and Manchester and Cromwell holding their own in the north, after the capture of York and the victory of Marston Moor.

On the approach of the King, Essex drew off his forces further westward, and His Majesty entered Exeter without opposition on the 26th July. The previous day the Chamber met and discussed the pressing question of supplies. An empty Exchequer, and the King himself coming to the city ! Money must be found, and a great deal of it. The tithes of Hennock and the sheafe of

Kingsbridge are ordered to be sold—and alas! the sad necessity—the city plate must be disposed of:—

“*25th July, 1644.*

“Whereas there is present & urgent occasions for the use of monies for the present affairs of this Cittie and its conceived that the Citties plate wilbe hereafter of little use, it is therefore this day agreeed & ordered that the Citties plate shalbe forthwith solde & disposed of for the best profit & Mr. Maior to be discharged of his engagement given for the same.”

There is a prophetic hopelessness in that “its conceived that the Cittie plate will hereafter be useless.” But even this does not suffice to meet all requirements, and so £1,000 is ordered to be raised on the city lands.

Before the King arrived on the following day, the Mayor is gratified to be able to come into Court and report that he had got £500; and the honour of the city was preserved.

The Chamber immediately proceed to vote away the money obtained with such difficulty:—

“And whereas the Kinges Matie is this day to make his accesse to this Cittie, where for his manie gracious favors to this Cittie he ought to be, with all dutie and respecte, attended on by the citizens, wh is hartelie desired may be orderlie done; it is further agreed and ordered that there shall be £500 psented to his Matie. And £100 more to the Prince his Highness (who comes with hym), as a testimonie of the Cittie’s service, and joy of his Matie’s presence here, the ordering whereof is commended to Mr. Maior and such others as he shall please to call to hym.

“And it is agreed that Mr. Maior shall bestowe xx*l.* uppon his Matie Prince Charles his servantes, vizt. xx marks to the one and xx nobles to the other, according as he sees it most fitting.”

The King is so delighted at the attention, that he confers the honour of knighthood on the Mayor, Hugh Crocker, but at the same time it is unpleasantly hinted that His Majesty’s army at Bristol is much in want of shoes. The hint is, of course, something like a demand, but there is no money and the city can only pledge its credit:—

“ Sir Hugh Crocker, Knight, Maior,

“ Upon the message from his matie by Mr. John Ashburnham
 “ for the advancing of monie or giving securitie for 3,000 paire of
 “ shoes pvided for his matie’s armye in the Cittie of Bristol. It
 “ is this daye agreede that the bond under the comon seale of
 “ this Cittie shalbe given to any person of the said Cittie of
 “ Bristol for the payment of £200 lawful money of England att
 “ th’end of sixe moneths wh said some of £200 together wh three
 “ former somes formerlie advanced to her mat^{ie} the Queen &
 “ Prince make upp the full some of £1,000—advanced to his
 “ matie in testimonie of the loyall and dutiful respecte of his
 “ matie’s present affairs and his happie accesse to this Cittie.”

This is a very polite way of saying that in the opinion of the Chamber, the city of Exeter has done for Royalty quite as much as could be expected. But there is one other little account to be settled before the members separate. The city having at one time been, although under compulsion, in rebellion against the King, the Royal pardon is essential to its being restored to the orthodox condition; this involves a trifle of £60 for fees incurred during the operation.

The King, after proceeding to hold a Council of war at Bradninch, left in pursuit of Essex; he came up with him at Fowey, in Cornwall, compelled him to fight, and captured and dispersed his army, the Earl himself fleeing to Plymouth and making his way thence to London.

Charles returned to Exeter on the 17th September, leaving his army to follow, by easy marches, with the cannon which had been captured from the enemy. His coming was heralded by complaints that his horse was without money, and his foot destitute of shoes and clothes. The long suffering city is again called upon for money, and the Chamber succeed in raising £500 at 7 per cent. interest on the security of two tenements and three marshes in St. David’s.

His Majesty remained about a week in Exeter and then returned to Oxford, taking Andover on the way, and utterly routing Waller, who had occupied that town with his army. His stay in Exeter was marked by the dismissal of two uncom-

promising members of the opposition in the Municipal Parliament. They had been ordered to attend in their places by nine o'clock on a certain day, and failing to appear, were struck off the list; a month afterwards the names of five more members—the two Crossings being amongst them—are called, but seeing that “they have drawne themselves & their families out of the City & the liberties of the same,” there is no response, and they suffer the same fate. This eliminating process is carried on at intervals up to the time when the course of events brought the opposite side into power.

The winter of 1644 passed away without much to record in respect of the city. The King's cause seemed to be gaining ground in the midland counties, and he was gradually accumulating large forces around him at Oxford. Here in the west, with the exception of Plymouth and Taunton, all the country was in the hands of the Royalists.

Early in the spring of 1645, Parliament determined to new model the army acting under its commands. To this end, the Earl of Essex was superseded, as General, by Fairfax, who associated with him Cromwell, as Lieutenant-General. Nearly all the old officers were removed or had their commissions changed, which caused heart-burnings and jealousies, not easily allayed. At length, however, Cromwell succeeded in organizing an army after his own heart: it was composed of men possessed of earnest convictions, stern resolves, and unflinching courage. They submitted to a rigid discipline and exercised much self-denial for the sake of the sacred cause in which they were fighting. This army was ready to take the field in May, and, after desultory manœuvring and skirmishing, was brought face to face with the Royal forces, and showed its quality on the field of Naseby. In this decisive battle the flower of the Cavalier army went down before the steady courage of Fairfax's soldiers, and the fierce charge of Cromwell's ironsides. It was a defeat so disastrous, and a rout so complete, that the King's cabinet—containing valuable State papers—and his household servants and coaches were captured, together with all the artillery and ammunition, and about 5,000 prisoners, horse and foot.

At this time there was another large army under Lord Goring, which had a sort of roving commission in the King's cause in the western and southern counties. It frequently came into collision with Waller's troops and the soldiers of the garrison of Taunton. Prince Charles, at Bristol, was supposed to direct the movements of Goring's forces, as well as those of Sir Richard Grenville, which were besieging Taunton, but the discipline appears to have been slack, as Sir Richard refused to stir a foot when ordered by the Prince to advance, and Goring seemed to have it pretty much his own way on the borders of Devonshire, "taking "that opportunity to refresh at Exeter, where they stayed three "or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his "horse lying upon free quarter, and plundering to the gates of "the City."

It was hoped that, Goring having been summoned to join the King's forces at Oxford, the west would have been rid of his ungracious presence, but he returned to it with greater power than ever, and his licentious and rowdy followers—the worst type of the Cavalier free-lance—became a terror wherever they appeared; so much so, that the avowed ground for the rising of the club men, was the intolerable oppression and violence of Goring's horse.

Just before the battle of Naseby one of those quarrels about precedence and command, which were so frequent at that time, broke out between our Governor, Sir John Berkeley, and Sir Richard Grenville. It reached such a head, that, to prevent serious injury to the cause, an important commission was sent down to investigate the matter and endeavour to heal their differences, as they were both too good men to be lost sight of or affronted. The time of the visit of the Commissioners is marked by a minute dated

"20 May 1645. Whereas Mr. Maio^r for the hono^r of this "Cittie & att the mocōn of divers of the Citizens did invite & "interteyne the Lord Caple, the Lord Culpeper M^r of the Rolles "S^r Edward Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer & divers other "psons of hono^r then in this Cittie it is this day agreede that he "shall have tenn pounds allowed & paid towards the charge of "the dinner."

This dispute was patched up for a time, but it broke out again before long, and Goring and Lord Hopton were drawn into it, to the utter distraction of the Prince of Wales, who upon the advance of Fairfax, had retired to Barnstaple, and was there endeavouring the impossible task of satisfying everybody.

After the battle of Naseby, Fairfax commenced his march westward, with his victorious army. Bridgewater was taken by storm, Taunton relieved, Sherborne Castle captured, and in July it is decided to lay siege to Bristol, where Prince Rupert was then in command. Goring, at Cullompton, had some thoughts of marching his troops towards Bristol to intercept, if possible, the operations of the Parliamentary forces, but some disagreement or jealousy again intervened, and he retires upon Exeter, writing a letter (which was intercepted by the enemy) to the effect, that, in three weeks, he will be ready to interrupt Fairfax; but it was then too late—before the time had expired, Bristol had changed hands. This fatal delay of Goring's was occasioned by dissensions which required the presence of Prince Charles to allay. He came to Exeter accordingly, and his visit necessitated the usual infliction upon the impoverished city.

“30th August, 1645.

“This day it is agreed that £100 shalbe psented unto Prince Charles his highnes (who came to this Cittie the last night) from this house as a testimonie of the humble duties of this Cittie to his Highnes ffor wch there being noo other meanes to raise the same but by orphane's monie it is also agreed that £100 shalbe taken up of Mr. John Pynes orphans monie. And that an Estate of 21 years of the Newe Inn shalbe made over to the Chamberlain Mr. John Parr & others for the repayment thereof againe att one yere's end wth reasonable interest vi per cent.”

The patience of the citizens must have been sorely tried, during the hot summer of 1645, at the discomforts which they endured through the overcrowding of the city; and their loyalty stretched to its utmost tension by the conduct of the soldiery. The plague was raging around, threatening the city; whereupon Mr. Town-Clerk writes, with an exasperated pen, of the “nastie

"& beastlie" smells which prevail and which occasion such infectious diseases, a raid upon the "pigges and swine-hoggs" is determined on, and those objectionable animals are banished the city—

"14 June, 1645.

"Whereas the sickness or the plague is now rageing in manie places to the greate danger of this Cittie. And such infectious diseases are much occasioned by nastie and beastlie smells. And whereas greate complayntes are made of divers such annoyances in & neare this Cittie. It is this day agreeede & ordeyned that everie inhabitant of this Cittie having or keeping any pigges wthin the walles of this Cittie shall wthin one week now next ensuing remove or cause his or their pigges to be removed wthout the walles of this Cittie and that noe inhabitant doe presume to keepe any pigg or swine-hogg wthin the walles of this Cittie which shalbe anoyance to the inhabitants or any of the King's leige people after the said tyme & before the ffeaste of St Michael th'Archangel next coming uppon payne of forfeiting of 11/s. 111/d. for each pigg for every day."

Goring's dissolute troopers were the subject of daily complaints, by their insolence and extortion; they helped themselves to the produce being conveyed to the markets by the country people, and robbed them of what money they had received, on their return, wasting as much provision in a day as was brought into Exeter in a fortnight. Their language was such that the learned Fuller lifted up his eyes in pious horror and prayed that his ears might never again be so profaned. Goring jestingly laughs off the complaints which are daily brought before him, as one day, when the "fishermen complained, that, as they came to market they were robbed by his troopers, who took all their fish from them, he said, that they might by this see what great injury was done to his men, by those who accused them of great swearing; for if they did swear, you "know (said he) they could catch no fish." Their destructive proclivities, for want of indulgence against the enemy, were turned upon the goods and chattels of the peaceful citizens; they could not leave the poor old crane on the quay alone, for there is a record of its "breakage and decay by reason of the soldiers." Sterner

work however was in store for them; Fairfax had advanced triumphantly as far as Cullompton, on his way to Exeter, intending first to lay siege to Tiverton, so as to keep the ground open in that district. Sir John Berkeley, seeing that the enemy's intentions were in the direction of our city, obtained leave from the Prince to remain at his post, and not to be required to undertake any expeditions into the country. His resolve was strengthened by a desire expressed by the Chamber that he should continue his services here, accompanied with a remonstrance and a present of £100, positively the last money screwed out of the unfortunate city; which, however, had afterwards to furnish shoes and stockings for the troops.

“7 Oct. 1645. Whereas Sir John Berkely, Knt. the present Governor of this Cittie hath in manie particulars expressed a greate care and respecte to the welfare of this Cittie & Citizens And is alwaies ready to pforme the same being att present of greate concernment Mr. Maior is desired to render hym hartie thanckes for those his favors & to intreate of him the continuances thereof.

“Also Mr. Colleton, Mr. Knott, Mr. Pitt and the Town Clarke are desired to drawe upp some notes by way of remonstrance of the manie somes of monie that the Cittizens and Cittie have advanced for the publick service & sett the same to be tendered to the Governor.

“Also that there shalbe the some of £100 taken upp upon the Cittie's Securitie to be psented to the Governor as a testimonie of the Cittie's thanckfulnes and respecte to hym.”

The King, considering that at last his cause was getting desperate, writes to Colepepper in the middle of October, that, with the utmost secrecy, the Prince of Wales must be transported to France; and orders Lord Goring to break through Oxford with his horse, and find him out. Goring, however, retires westward with his troopers, much to the joy of the people of Exeter, and finding himself in a declining cause, afterwards basely deserted his post, and crossed over to France.

Bridgewater, Bristol, and Berkeley Castle had fallen; the garrisons of Devizes, Laicock-house, Basing-house—“a nest of idolatry”—Winchester, Langford, and Sherborne, had one after

the other been reduced, and Tiverton Castle carried by assault so fierce, that the terrified defenders cried pitifully for quarter.

Fairfax on the 20th October marched with his whole army in the direction of Exeter, and, halting at Silverton, the General with a small party advanced as far as Stoke, and ascending the hill, looked down upon the city. On viewing the situation, it was determined to invest the place on both sides, and a movement was made towards Alphington, which could only be reached by the round-about way of Newton St. Cyres. On arriving at this latter place, in such rain as almost made the roads impassable, the soldiers, sick and exhausted, and the wheels of the gun-waggons broken, it was resolved to move on to, and rest for a few days at Crediton. Whilst Fairfax was at Crediton, debating what step he should next take, happily Lieut.-General Cromwell came in, in advance of his Ironsides, whom he had left at Honiton. It was soon decided to secure the country on the eastern side of the city.

Ottery St. Mary was selected for the head quarters of the army, and garrisons were established at the Castle on Exmouth beach—commanding the entrance to the river—at Bishops Clist, at Poltimore, and at Stoke. The army in its march had approached very near to the City, and the authorities, fearing an assault, found it necessary to clear the ground before the walls on the east side; eighty houses were burnt to the ground and the occupiers left to shift for themselves at that inclement season of the year. Whilst Fairfax was at Ottery, some negociations were set on foot by Lord Goring, Sir John Berkeley and others, having, it was thought, for their object, the bringing about of an understanding between the opposing armies—the one to compel the King, the other to compel the Parliament, to settle their differences. But matters had gone too far for that, notwithstanding that the Royal cause looked less gloomy in the west, and the new sickness was making terrible havoc with the Parliamentary troops. A garrison having been established at Nutwell, at Tiverton, at Crediton, and at Ashton, the investment of the City was complete on the east and north sides, but an attempt to occupy Powderham Castle failed, the place being strong in the possession of the Royalists.

The day after Christmas-day, news was received from Plymouth, and confirmed by spies, that Prince Charles was about to put himself at the head of the forces that could be mustered from Cornwall and Devon, and risk all upon his cast of relieving Exeter. The General determined at once to take the field and go forth to meet the enemy: leaving Exeter closely blocked, he dispatched Sir Hardress Waller with two brigades—Cromwell going in person with them—westward, by way of Bow, to Bovey Tracey, whilst he himself advanced into the South Hams by way of Canonteign. The expedition was successful as far as it went, but it failed to meet with the Royal army in force. Dartmouth, however, was stormed, and Totnes taken, and in the various desultory encounters the Parliamentary forces generally had the best of it.

The beginning of the new year witnessed the return of Fairfax and his army to prosecute, with greater vigour than ever, the siege of Exeter. On the 17th of January a summons to surrender was sent in and honorable conditions offered. A fair answer was given, declining the terms, and expressing a strong belief that the Prince would speedily relieve the city.

The concentration of the Royal troops in the North of Devon, and their reinforcement from the eastward, pointed to the probability of a last and desperate attempt to raise the siege, and at a Council of officers of the besiegers' army it was resolved a second time to march out and try to bring on a general battle with the Prince's army—not without so much discontent, however, amongst Fairfax's troops, annoyed at these diversions, that it was thought better to at once attempt the city by storm, and warrants were issued to all the hundreds, about Exeter, to supply ladders; and scaling-ladders were sent for from Plymouth. But the aspect of affairs in the north compelling attention, the army was soon on the march in that direction. Powderham Castle, which had surrendered, was first garrisoned; and guards and quarters established at Alphington, Peamore, and Barley, so that the city was completely surrounded; the whole of the arrangements for maintaining the blockade being left to Sir Hardress Waller.

The inhabitants were at this time feeling considerable distress, more perhaps from being penned up within the crowded city,

than from any actual scarcity of food; although Fuller relates that the appearance of an incredible number of larks, in excellent condition, was hailed with joy, and they were killed in such quantities as provided many a plentiful meal for the poor people, who otherwise would have been pinched.

Just ten days before the surrender of the city, Thomas Fuller, the Divine, was appointed by the Chamber to the Bodleian Lectureship; he was chaplain to the household of the little Princess, and a great favourite among all classes, from his genial manners and moderate views. He rendered considerable help to the authorities in the difficult negotiations with the enemy at the critical time of the surrender of the city.

Lord Hopton—who had been made Commander-in-Chief of the Royal forces—was now at Torrington, with 5,000 horse and 4,000 foot, also a large number of cattle and sheep, salt, and other provisions, which had been brought up from Stratton in one day, and were being hurried on, with all speed, for the relief of Exeter.

To intercept these supplies, and to disperse the troops intended for the raising of the siege of Exeter, General Fairfax boldly advanced against the enemy, and by the 16th of February had got so close to him, that despite the unfavourable state of the weather, and the superior numbers opposed to him, he was compelled to commence the attack. The result was the battle of Torrington, when the Royalists were driven out of the place, Lord Hopton having his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaping capture; the church blown up with two hundred prisoners who were confined therein; over 400 prisoners taken and 3,000 stand of arms. This decisive defeat was a death blow to the King's cause in the West. Fairfax quickly followed up his success, and with rapid marches drove the disjointed and demoralized troops of the enemy into Cornwall, where Hopton speedily surrendered, and the Royal army was disbanded.

The General having completed his work in the West, set about returning with his army eastward to resume the siege of Exeter.

By the 29th March he had arrived at Crediton and thence some troops were sent forward to occupy Heavitree, in order to prevent the suburbs being burnt by the garrison. St. Thomas's Hospital, within gun shot of the walls, was also occupied by Col.

Hammond—the city being so closely invested that none could stir beyond the walls, nor durst show himself upon them.

On the 31st, the General, with his whole army, set forth from Crediton, by the old road, which, passing over Waddlesdown and Redhill, brought the troops almost within range of the walls. As soon as they appeared in sight of the outposts of the besiegers, they were saluted with volleys of musketry and great shouts, which taken up by post after post, the welcome rang around the whole City, an ominous defiance to the beleagured garrison, and a note of dismay to the suffering inhabitants. Winding through Exwick, and onward by Cowley bridge, the chief part of the army quartered that night at Silverton, whilst the General stayed at Columb John.

The same day Fairfax sent in a summons to the Governor, to surrender the City, in the following terms:—

“Sir,—Being returned with my army from the west, where “God in his wisdom saw it good to bestow a dry and bloodless “victory upon me, to the great peace and quiet of those parts, and “conceiving it my duty likewise to endeavour the good of this “country, which by the occasion of your garrison is necessarily “obstructed, I thought fit once more to send you a summons to “deliver up to me the City of Excester, with the castle, forts, arms, “ammunition, and magazine belonging to the same; believing that “by this time you are satisfied of the relief of the Prince’s army, “and may equally be of all relief to come from any other place, if “your intelligence and knowledge were the same with ours: there “is nothing more induceth me hereunto than an unfeigned zeal “toward any bloodshed, and, as much as in me lies, to preserve “that city, which hath already suffered deeply in these unnatural “distractions, from further or greater misery: though I shall not “boast of my numbers or strength, yet I must needs tell you that “I doubt not but the same power which hath formerly made “difficult things easy, will answer this, and will acquit me from “being accounted the occasion of these inconveniences and miseries “which necessarily will ensue upon your refusal. Sir, I shall expect “your speedy and positive answer herein, and rest,

“Your Servant,

“March 31st, 1646.

“Thos. Fairfax.”

No sooner had the messenger, in due form, delivered this summons, than Mr. Recorder Ball hastened to the Mayor, and, his worship proceeding to the Guildhall, the bell was rung calling the members of the Chamber to assemble upon important business. As soon as they were got together, a letter was read from the Governor, informing them that he had been summoned to surrender the city, and asking that some of them would attend at Bedford House, at eight o'clock, on the following morning, to consider the matter. The Mayor, Sir Hugh Crocker, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Mallock, were appointed a Committee to act on behalf of the city.

“Upon the reading of a letter this day received from the Governor intimating a special occasion of much concernment to this Cittie to conferr with some others att his house to-morrow morning att eight of the clocke. And his desire to call a Chamber forthwyth and to appoint two or three of this company to attend that business. It is agreed that Mr. Maior, Sir Hugh Crocker, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Mallock, shalbe desired to pforme that service on the behalfe of the Cittie, it being by the relation of Mr. Recorder from the said Governor concerning hes summons this day sent for the rendering of this Cittie, the managing whereof is lefte to the discretions of the said Committee.”

But whilst the debate was still going on, and, doubtless, in the midst of an earnest conversation on the momentous state of affairs, Sir Peter Ball came down again from the Governor's house with further information. It was useless holding out any longer—Exeter was doomed, and if it was to be saved from destruction and the Citizens from slaughter, a treaty must at once be entered into for the surrender of the City, upon the best terms that could be obtained. “And upon the further information of the said Recorder to the said governor that in case a treatie shalbe concluded uppon att the said meeting that this house would name two psons for that purpose on the behalfe of the Cittie—they name two Mr. Walker & Mr. Knott and ask that two more may be admitted Mr. Kendall & Mr. Foard.”

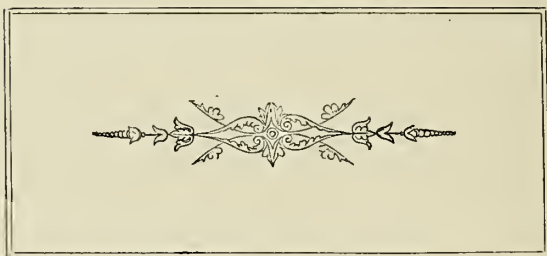
Bankrupt, and weary of the armed occupation for so long, the Chamber were not sorry that the time had arrived when they

could, without dishonor, give up a ruined cause. Almost the last stronghold to surrender, Exeter had done its duty, and had been true to its motto, 'Semper Fidelis,' faithful in its loyalty, as long as anything remained worthy of it.

Four members of the Chamber were appointed to assist the Military Council in drawing up a treaty—Mr. Walker, Mr. Knott, Mr. Kendall, and Mr. Foard; but the two first only were accepted, as being sufficient, and they were instructed to take as the basis of agreement the articles made upon the last surrender of the city to the King. Much better terms, however, were exacted.

The Committees sat for the first time on Friday, the 3rd April, at Poltimore house, the residence of Sir John Bampffield, and day after day they never ceased work, for the most part far into the night, until the following Thursday; many obstructions being thrown in the way by the exorbitant demands of the Cathedral clergy, who were eventually obliged to give way. On the 9th April, the articles were signed by Sir John Berkeley, Governor of Exeter, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliamentary army. They are twenty-four in number, and most honorable for the city. Briefly, the Governor, the officers of the Garrison and and all the troops are to march out of the city with the honors of war, with horses, arms, bag and baggage, and their goods; colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, bullets and full bandaliers, with sufficient convoys. The Cathedral Church, nor any other church, shall be defaced, or anything belonging thereunto spoiled or taken away. That all charters and privileges shall be preserved to the Corporation and citizens. That all damage done to the city or inhabitants shall be made good or atoned for, and that there shall be no billeting or free quartering of soldiers.

So Berkeley went forth with his soldiers, and perhaps his going, was alone, of all of them, regretted. Exeter, on Monday, the 13th of April, 1646, was garrisoned by the exemplary and highly disciplined soldiers raised by Cromwell, and the long reign under the Sword and Bible commenced.





EXETER DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

PART II.

Not many years since, visitors to the Cathedral Church of Exeter were shown, amongst other things, certain marks on the pavement in the nave of the building, which were said to have been caused by the stamping of the horses of Cromwell's troopers during the occupation of the city by the Parliamentary troops.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, doubtless, many lamentable excesses were committed on both sides, and with respect to the popular side it is not much to be wondered at, seeing that it numbered amongst its followers many who joined more for the sake of mischief and plunder, than from political or conscientious motives. But it has been shown that Exeter was not subject to the tender mercies of those who took part in the first rising, for the city was already at that time in the hands of the Parliamentary party; it was then besieged and taken by the Royalists, and now Fairfax was outside the gates only waiting for the settlement of the articles to enter in and take possession. But what a change had taken place in the composition of the Republican forces; time was when the London trained bands marched to the field in high crowned hats, collared bands, great loose coats, long tucks under them, and calf-leather boots—an old writer says, “they sing a psalm, fall on, and send all opposition to the deuce.” The uniform of the “new model” army which Cromwell had raised was, if plain, soldierlike and serviceable; and every soldier who joined the ranks was an honest—in the widest acceptation of the word—or a religious man. It was the most remarkable

army that the world has ever seen—composed of men who had left farm and merchandize, as they believed, at the direct call of the Almighty, to stake their lives on behalf of liberty of conscience and political freedom ; determined not to sheath the sword until their work had been accomplished.

As soon as the surrender of the city had been agreed upon, the General, not to waste valuable time, sent away half a dozen cavalry regiments to intercept the King, should he attempt to leave Oxford ; and set off himself, with some troops, towards Barnstaple, intending to capture the town and fort, and return in time for the entry into Exeter. Everything went with him as well as he could desire, but there was an enemy which it was vain to contend against—the weather ; incessant rains so delayed his progress that he could not reach head quarters by Monday, the 13th of April, the day fixed for the occupation of the city, and it so happened that Cromwell, the second in command, conducted the army into possession. Owing to the withdrawals, there were but fifteen hundred horse, but amongst these were the famous Ironsides, and the conquerors of Naseby. About six thousand foot and the train companies completed the force, and in their sober garb and steady discipline, they must have afforded a strange contrast to the gay and reckless cavaliers whom the citizens were gladly rid of.

These were not the men to desecrate any place of worship willingly, and it would have been a gratuitous and unnecessary act of profanity to grant the luxury of a stable in the Cathedral, at a mild season of the year, to horses accustomed to be picketed out in the open, every night, and in all weathers.*

* At page 9 of the Lectures, at the end of this Volume, there is a quotation from Dr. Oliver's " History of Exeter." It is a pity that the learned doctor's religious sentiments should have led him to quote the untrustworthy " Mercurius Rusticus." It is certainly possible that the Puritans " plucked down " the statues referred to, but there is no evidence of it ; and it is not improbable that they, as it said, defaced the wall paintings, on either side the altar, representing Moses and Aaron ; but it is singular, with all their " plundering and ravaging," that they did not obliterate them altogether. The paintings were *in situ* for some hundred and fifty years after the restoration ; and the heads, framed, are now in the Chapter House, whither they were removed when the Kendall reredos was

Any desecration of the sacred edifice could only have taken place with the sanction and approval of the authorities, and up to this time, at all events, there is no appearance of it; on the contrary, we find their care for the church exemplified in a very small matter.

“ 30th Nov. 1648.

“ Ordered that Mr. Receiver give Josias the keeper of the clock at the great church for keeping it, and clensing the gutters by the walks in the great churchyard 10s., to be allowed in his account.”

The fifth article in the deed of surrender is as follows:—

“ That the Cathedral church, nor any other church within the city shall be defaced, or anything belonging thereunto spoiled or taken away by any soldier or person of either side whatsoever.”

And what says Fuller upon these articles? Fuller the divine, chaplain to the Princess and her household then at Bedford House, and he a resident in Exeter during the siege, and for three months afterwards! No better witness could be had than this staunch Royalist and conscientious writer.

“ I must not forget the articles of Exeter whereof I had the benefit, living and waiting there on the King’s daughter, at the rendition thereof: articles which both as penned and performed were the best in England; thanks to their wisdom who so worthily made, and honesty who so well observed them !”

There is no evidence whatever, that any damage was done to our Cathedral during the rebellion. Wherever sculptured or other figures appear to be wanting or mutilated, it was the fashion at the re-action, in the intense hatred felt for the Puritans, to attribute the mischief to them, it being conveniently forgotten that all images were, one hundred years previously, ordered, by the King in council, to be removed from the churches; and that that order was enforced and obeyed.

erected. The best evidence that no desecration, worth mentioning took place, is the fact that Izacke the Royalist Churchman, who suffered so much during the rebellion, and lived for many years afterwards,—mentions not a word on the subject.

But the liberal spirit which animated the soldiers does not show itself in the Parliament which they served, and its intolerance is faithfully reflected in our local governing body.

Within a week of the surrender of the city all the troops had left, with the exception of three regiments—about 1,500 men in all—kept here to garrison the place. A whole month elapsed before the Corporation found themselves in a condition to meet for the transaction of business under the new order of things; in the meantime the Royalist members had removed themselves or been removed from the city, and so the majority was once more thrown on the other side.

The first act of the Council was to declare that Sir Peter Ball, Recorder, elected by their predecessors, was not in office at all, but that their own man, Mr. Edmund Prydeaux, had continued all along to fill the office, ignoring Sir Peter's appointment altogether: whether they paid up the arrears of salary, evidently due under this arrangement, does not appear.

A month later and they had obtained an Act of Parliament declaring certain dismissals from the Corporation to be of no effect; it is a curious record, and it shows the unscrupulous way in which the Government dealt with the local administration of the country.

16th June, 1646. Which day an ordinance of both houses of Parliament was presented to this house being as follows:—

8th June, 1646. Whereas Richard Saunders, Adam Bennett, Walter White James Gould, Rihcard Crossinge, John Loveringe, James Marshall, and Phillipp Crossinge, who were some of them Aldermen and the rest of them were of the Common Councell and Chamber of the City of Exeter for there fidelitie to the Parliament and adheringe to it in the defence of their just cause have sithence the power of the said Cittie came into the hands of the enemy beene pronounced to be removed and displaced from beinge of the Companye of the Aldermen and Comon Councell and Chamber of the said Cittie, the Lords and Comons assembled in Parliam^t having received full and ample testimony of the integrity and abilitie of the said Richard Saunders & others as likewise of their greate sufferings for their being faithfull in the Cause doe declare and ordeyne that such amoveinge and displacinge of them and every of them is voide unjust and of none effect. And doe further declare that the said Richard Saunders & others doe continue and are Aldermen and of the Comon Councell & Chamber of the said Cittie, notwithstanding any such ptended amoveing expulsion or displacing had or made att any tyme whilst the said Cittie hath byn in the hands

and power of the Enemy And doe ordeyne that they be acceptedd admitted and taken to be of the Magistracie Government and Comon Counsell of the said Cittie to all intents & purposes as they were att the tyme of the beginninge of this unnatural warre or att any tyme since.

G. ELSYNGE, Cler Parly & Commrs

These gentlemen were all present at the reading of the ordinance, and, immediately after, the Chamber unhesitatingly dismissed three Aldermen and the Receiver-General.

"16th Jan., 1646. Whereas Mr. John Colleton, Receiver-General of this cittie, having not only absented himself divers months past from his said office and the publick affaires of this cittie, but hath also withdrawn himself out of this kingdome, it is this day agreed by full consent that the said Mr. Colleton be dismissed from his said office and from being any longer a member of this Societie of the Common Councelle of this cittie."* Thomas Fuller was too genuine a Royalist to be able to retain his Bodleian Lectureship, so he lost the appointment, and the two Law Counsellors for the city theirs; four other members of the Council, the Sword bearer, and the Master of the hospital are dismissed, and to make a clean sweep, every one connected with the yarn-market is sent about his business, and the Widow Pitts succeeds to the many vacancies. But the amiable feeling, which prevailed, may be learnt from the minute recording the dismissal of Sir Hugh Crocker, the loyal Mayor, who was knighted by Charles during his Majesty's visit to Exeter.

The Clerk has made the entry in the book in the usual form; it runs thus:—

Mr.

"Also that ~~S~~-Hugh Crocker for his manifest opposicon to the Parliamt and his crueltie to those that were well affected to their cause & pcedinges is dismissed of this Societie.

"Nemine contradicente."

[This is in a different hand-writing.]

* Some little interest attaches to the name of this gentleman just now, for he occupied one of the houses recently destroyed in the great fire on Fore Street Hill. The house retained, to the last, traces of the time when it was occupied by Colleton, who, like many cadets of the old county families, embarked in the lucrative "trade of merchandize." He was an ardent Royalist, and either he or a member of his family raised a troop of horse for the King's service. Colleton Crescent derives its name from the family property in that neighbourhood.

One of the members present, some uncompromising Republican and despiser of titles, takes the pen from the Clerk's hand, draws a line through the title "Sir" and inserts "Mr.," and to give vent to his acrimony, adds at the end of the minute the words "remine contradicente."

Not content with this, they throw some doubt upon his integrity in having

"23 June, 1646. Auditors appointed to receive the acc^{ts} that "were of late made by S^r Hugh Crocker touching the affaires of "this Cittie, and to reporte to this house what is therein contayned "that they conceive not fitting to be allowed."

In Bartholomew Churchyard, on the inner side of the wall which now blocks up the original gateway, may still be seen, on a stone slab, this inscription:—

"This platte of ground was given by y^e Cittie of Exon, fytted "and encompassed by the concurrent charge of both the Church "and Cittie, with the careful outceyng of Roger Mallock, "merchante, then Maior, and was solemlie consecrated by "the Rev^d. Joseph Halle, then Lord Bishop of Exon, upon "S^t Bartholomew's day, August xxiii., 1637.

"Preciosa in conspectu dei mors sanctorum."

The City Arms are in the centre at the head of the slab, and the old motto is, for some reason not disclosed, altered to "Fidelis "in eternum"—on either side are the arms of the Bishop and the Mayor, respectively.

The word "consecrated," or the title "Bishop," seems to have offended the eyes of some of the faithful, as a standing menace to their principles; it is, therefore,

"23 Nov., 1648. Ordered that Mr. Receiver doe cause the "inscription in the wall of the new churchyard purporting the "consecration thereof to bee defaced."

The order was not carried out, for the inscription remains, but it is possible that the stone may have been buried, like the monument to Muster Master Vaughan, (a noted local Royalist killed in the civil wars,) and taken back to its place at the Restoration.

A question which, at the present time, is exciting some interest in the city and county was under discussion in the days we are

speaking of. In the year 1640 it appears that the Judges had complained of their lodgings at Mr. Mallock's house, and suggested that Mr. Penny's house would afford them much better accommodation. The Chamber thought otherwise, and directed a message to be sent to the Judges, then at Chard, but they could not agree what message should be sent, and the matter seems to have then ended. There must have been something wrong with the furnishing or the situation of Mr. Mallock's residence to give any ground for complaint, as the house itself would, even now, if restored to its original state, be considered a grand one. It was situated in Gandy Street, at the back of the tobacconist's at the High Street corner. The dining-room was richly decorated with carved panelling of a high order, which is still to be seen, although the dimensions of the apartment have been curtailed; in a large room on the first floor a portion of the fine moulded ceiling and chimney-piece yet remain, and in the basement there are traces of an extensive kitchen, with a huge fire-place, now disused and partly filled up with rubbish. From figures and arms on the dining-room chimney piece, we gather that this decoration dates from the reign of Elizabeth, and no doubt the house was then put in proper order, at considerable expense, for the express purpose of lodging the Judges, and that it was so used through the seventeenth century as far as we have gone. It was always puzzling to know to what use so elaborate a residence could have been adapted, but now the mystery is cleared up; and our ancestors adopted a wise course in paying proper respect to his Majesty's Judges, and a due regard for the value to the city of their presence here, by providing such handsome accommodation for them. The Chamber, moreover, in those days, did not begrudge the cost of these lodgings. When the Puritan element was in the ascendant, it seems to have occurred to some of them that perhaps it was not quite proper so to indulge the Judges, but a better spirit prevailed with the majority, and

“25 June, 1646. It is agreed that the lodging for the Judges
 “shalbe pvided and supplied by Mr. Ald. Mallock, as heretofore,
 “for the Assizes shortlie to be helde in this Cittie att the charges
 “of the Cittie.”

About six months after, Mr. Mallock presses for the rent, and is presented with a counter demand in the shape of a debt due to the Chamber, which he is requested to settle. However, he subsequently obtains his rent, which was £5, for each Assize.

It was also the custom of the city to entertain the Judges, but probably the temperament of the civic magnates was rather repressive of festivity, for we find that "Whereas the Judges of this Westernne Circuit have divers yere past byn intertayned by the Maiors of this Cittie for the tyme being to their greate expence and trouble, and the charge of this Cittie wh hath almost drawne it to a custome, and the Cittie being of late much impoverished, &c., &c., the Mayor is desired to forbear that invitation, and to present them with something instead, at a value of twenty nobles." At the following Assizes the value of the present was reduced to five pounds.

On the approach of the Parliamentary forces, Charles, who was shut up with his army in Oxford, fled in disguise, and succeeded in escaping the notice of those who had been sent to watch his movements. After aimless wanderings, he gave himself into the hands of the Scottish army, which was then besieging Newark. Meanwhile the city of Oxford had been invested and summoned to surrender, but a siege of fifty-five days was sustained before it could be taken. It now appeared as though the fighting were over, the end accomplished, and that nothing remained but to decide upon the best mode of establishing the peace of the kingdom. Charles having placed himself at the mercy of the Scots, the Presbyterian Parliament imagined that he would readily accede to any terms it might propose, and thus the monarchy would be restored on the basis laid down by the two houses. They required the command of the army and fleet for twenty years; the exclusion of all "Malignants" or Royalists, who had taken part in the war, from civil and military office; the abolition of Episcopacy; and the establishment of a Presbyterian Church.

But the other power in the state—the army—objected to the narrow policy and intolerance of the Presbyterians; they saw with Milton, that "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

The King expressed a hope that, with the aid of one of the parties, he should be able to extirpate the other, and reign again as he willed. He therefore delayed giving a reply to the proposals of the houses until, out of patience, they purchased his Majesty from the Scots for the sum of £400,000, and the Scottish army marched back over the borders well pleased with the bargain. Masters of the King, the Presbyterian leaders were not yet masters of the situation whilst the "new model" army existed. They therefore voted that this army should be disbanded, and a new one raised with strictly Presbyterian officers at its head. But the army refused to be disbanded—they claimed to have a voice in the political settlement—"on becoming soldiers we have "not ceased to be citizens," they pleaded at the bar of the House of Commons, and before disbanding they would have the liberties secured for which they had fought, and "if need came "would fight again." Fairfax and Cromwell, although Presbyterians and Covenanters, yet sympathized with the army, and at this juncture endeavoured to mediate between it and the Parliament.

Our Local Council soon gave tokens of a vigorous administration: there were the repairs of the walls and gates to be looked to; Cowley-bridge—destroyed during the siege—to be re-built, but only with timber for the present, as the finances are in a gloomy state; the quays and the weirs put in order; the river cleansed; the haven dues settled; the wool-hall and yarn-market looked to; protection granted to the new "drapery" against interlopers; and the trade of the city encouraged.

25 March, 1647. The city fleet has to be overhauled, valued, and made up to the proper strength:—

The greate covered Boate y ^e Nicholas	55 ^l .
The greate open Boate y ^e Ann	40
And other open Boates the fflower, with 2 little Boates, ribbes, and peeces of boates	10
	105
Fflower other old coale boates wh were John Browns	25
	130
£70 more to be added out of the rent towards the new making of one other boate & repairing of the old to make upp flower serviceable boates all to be valued	200 ^l

Nuisances are to be vigorously abolished, and the sanitary condition of the city improved; above all, the "moralities" of the people, which had been so neglected, must have the most careful attention.

There is no lack of loyalty to the King as far as recognition of the office is concerned; all documents have the usual formula, and the oath of allegiance is unaltered. But Bishop Brownrigg, who had never seen, nor was ever to see his Diocese, was rustivating somewhere in Berkshire, and the Dean and Chapter were certainly not in residence. The great church—the word Cathedral savoured too much of Popery—was taken possession of by the Chamber, who, approving of disestablishment of Episcopacy, do not object to a State Church and endowment, provided it is transferred to the right parties. They resolve that

"20 Oct., 1646. A Letter be written from this house to Mr. Prydeaux, Recorder of this Cittie, desiring his lauffull favo^r and "best assistance in the obtayning of some competent meanes for "the mynisters here out of lands of the Deane & Chapter."

In the meantime they must rest content with volunteers, or, as in the case of Mr. Nicholles, pay twenty shillings "for the sermon preached on Jesus day last"—"Jesus "day," or the "Sabbath." Sunday is pagan. At length they are,

"14 Jan., 1647, Informed that Mr. Hurste, Minister of God's "Word att Plymouth, is purposing to leave that place. Mr. "Receiver is desired to speak with or write unto the said "Mr. Hurste, that if he leaveth that place he wilbe pleased that "this Cittie may have the benefitt of his ministrie uppon fitting "consideracon."

Whether or not Mr. Hurste conferred the desired benefit is not shown; but it is worthy of note that "19 Jan., 1647. It is agreed "that Mr. Receiver shall pvide a faire newe beaver for the "Swordbearer of this Cittie to weare att such tymes as he waites "on Mr. Maior, his master, in the publick service of this Cittie, "but not otherwise." The connexion between a beaver and a preacher may not be evident at first sight, but it will be clear enough presently.

The austere rule of the Presbyterians weighed heavily on a people not overmuch given to a rigorous discipline in manners

and morals. Not to pull the strings too tightly at first, the Chamber consented to allow the "waits" to continue their music, discoursed twice a week from the leads of the Guildhall, and paid them their yearly stipend of ten pounds. But, very soon, this indulgence was withdrawn, and "in regard this Cittie is "nowe a garrison and for some other reasons," the minstrels are inhibited from performing.

The Sabbath is to be strictly observed. To get drunk on the Lord's day is punished by putting the offender in the stocks, and this happened to one Comyns for travelling. In another case a man is committed for going from Newton St. Cyres to see the guard; and one, who confesses to having been as far as Alphington, is let off with a fine of 5s. Idle revel seems to have been as attractive as it is in our day, and the Chamber regretted that, being beyond their jurisdiction, they were unable to put it down with a strong hand. But in the old time there was this advantage, that those who had been there could be made to suffer.

"3 July, 1648. Crispin, a constable, informs that yesterday "being Lord's day, about nyne of the clocke towards night, "passing with several other constables over Exebridge to take "notice of severall persons who had gone oute of the saide Cittie "at 'Eade' to a Revell there that day, hee mett with one "Thomas Collins neere Exebridge, and demanding of hym "whether hee had not been there, the said Collins refused to "answere, and he, attempting to arrest him, other persons "interfered to the disturbance of his Mat^{ies} peace."

Hugh White is brought up for saying "they that had byn the "cause of Collins being sent to prison may bee there themselves "verie shortlie, and said further that rather then see the said "white moules have sett hands on the said Collins, unless it had "byn for ffelony or murder, hee would have seene the Braines of "them that apprehended him to be knockt out, and alsoe said "that they that had brake the peace should have kept the peace "& bee hanged."

Fines are inflicted for doing work and for baking bread on the Sabbath, and fast days are to be kept with the same rigour, the penalty being 5s. for absence from church or working at worldly

labour. It is no use making believe to be going to church and taking a surreptitious stroll instead, for there is always some one to watch your movements, especially if you should not happen to be an orthodox Presbyterian. Ever active,

"18 Oct., 1647. Thomas Crispin informeth that on Wednesday "last, being the ffast day, in the afternoone in sermon time hee "passing alonge the streetes to take notice or apprehende such "psons as should absente themselves from the same, wch according "to the ordinance of Parliamt hee is required to doo, this informant "then mett with one Mattheue Hurkis in Southgate Streete, of "whome this informant demannding where hee was goeing the "said Hurkis refused to give him any answeare thereunto, "whereuppon endeavouring to bring him before the Mayor he "resisted, &c."

The said Hurkis being brought before the Mayor, "taxed "Mr. Maior for injustice in the open Courte, and said alsoe that "the Independents would have noe justice, and did not doubt but "that hee shoulde fight againe."

Playing at cards is strictly forbidden, especially the game of "shuffleboards, at 2s. 6d. a cutt," and the use of strong language is no more to be permitted than strong drink. It is remembered of one Joan Awdrie, more than twelve months ago, that she, perhaps having a husband or sweetheart in the Royal army, applied a vigorous Saxon epithet to the commander of the hostile forces. Time does not condone the offence, and she suffers.

"6 Feb. 1647. One Woodley of Dunsford was arrested, he "sware one oath by the name of God in the parishe of St. "Petroxe.' One Syms having him in custody he was rescued by "Oxenbury, a butcher, who on being questioned by Captain "Candishe, a grocer, he 'told hym he lyed,' wch wordes being "spoken to a captayne are conceived to bee a greate provocation "of the breach of the peace. Committed accordingly."

The penalty according to the act is 5s. an oath, but one naughty little word leads to complications which involve a weeks' imprisonment, and so it is the case with "(20 Feb. 1647) George "Lome a Baker of this Cittie did sware three severall oaths by "the name of God, he was also 'unrulie' and disobedient to his

“father. On the constable requesting him to come to the court
 “he ‘stroke hym in the stomach and drewe forth his knyfe and
 “swore that he would sheath him in his bowells.’ Committed to
 “Prison until he can find good sureties.”

But surely it is rather hard upon the miller of St. Edmund's to have to pay 5s. for making an assertion “by faith and troth,” a mild form of letting off the steam, very different from the case of the choleric pluralist which comes next.

“6 Oct. 1648. Richard Reynolls, of Exon, Barber, deposed
 “that John Griffyn did this day sweare twentie oathes, and said
 “that he was one of the Newe London Cavaliers and that as he
 “had done service for the Parliam^t so nowe he would be their
 “enemy and do as much against them and cutt their throats.”

But the fiercest raid is upon the women—offences three or four years old are raked up and visited upon them with punishment which others should have more justly suffered. Whipping at the cart's tail is yet in fashion, but is not resorted to because there is “noe carte to be gotten att,” but no less than ten females are, at one court-day, ordered to be punished “att the ring.” But what would our domestics say if the careful way in which the interests of their class was looked after in those days should be now repeated? For keeping company with a soldier, and for talking to a soldier, committed—and “(10 April, 1647) Margaret Rennell, spinster, ordered to gett herself into service “within a fortnight or to go to the Bridewell.”

The worm that is trodden upon will turn, and so we find one poor soul delivering herself of her mind in language studiously regardful of the fact that oaths are rather expensive luxuries.

“22 Feb., 1647. Eleanor Thomas, a Welsh woman, charged
 “for having abused Mr. Alderman Sanders and called him ‘slow,’
 “and said that if she could take him in Wales she would make
 “him beg for his life on his knees. She denied that she ever
 “spake any such,’ but for this ‘uncivell worde’ she was ‘com-
 “mitted to the back grate.”

This was a cheerful kind of iron cage, in which the victim could neither sit down nor stand upright, and the limit of human endurance in it would be about two hours. I remember once seeing in this county an instrument of torture of this kind with a

man confined therein—his sufferings were pitiable in the extreme.

For a different class of offence—that of writing begging letters—the penalty is somewhat peculiar. The offender is to go to the House of Correction until Friday next, then “to be sett in the “stockes for the space of three hours in the choicest tyme of the “markett with a paper uppon his hatt and his offence thereon,” and there is a sense of real justice in sentencing a man, who had “strooken out another’s eye,” to pay 1s. a week towards his victim’s maintenance as long as he should live.

Political feeling could not be wholly repressed, and the offences under this head, by the expression of opinions, are very numerous. Seditious and mutinous words, or speaking ill of the authorities or judges are the chief offences. One Griffin, a barber, having displayed his proclivities by speaking scandalous words of the committee, becomes a marked man, and it is not long after discovered that he, some three or four years previously, doubtless whilst curling the locks of some Royalist customer, had uttered these words: “the Parliament went about nothing but to robb “God of his Glorie and the King of his right.”

Mary Cholwill, irritated, after the manner of human nature in all ages, at the call of the tax-collector, burst out upon him with opprobrious and scandalous terms, saying that “every rogue was “put in office now.” Something was remembered of her, too, to make the punishment more severe. At the time the city was to be surrendered to Fairfax, she was heard to say “that she had “rather the Turks should come into the Cittie than them, “meaning the Parliament forces, and that rather than they should “have the Cittie, the Castle and Cittie should be sett on ffyre, or “words to that effecte,” and she abused the witness, calling her Roundhead and would have her drink to the confusion of Parliament.

That there were hopes of a change in the Government, or at all events of the rule in the city, is shown in the case of a soldier who expected to “put the Mayor out of the city shortly, and he “would keep him out,” and another anticipates, in a month or six weeks, to be gratified with the sight of a hundred throats cut.

Resistance to the yoke that weighed heavily on the necks of the citizens was out of the question with those fifteen hundred

solemn, extremely well-behaved warriors at the Castle; they were a staid inoffensive lot, those soldiers, their only sin being a weakness for beer, which brought numbers of the unlicensed into trouble, and led to the remark of Mr. Boorman (for which he suffered) that the Mayor could not live without swearing and drink-money. But the soldiers were too good for the citizens, and one of the former was committed, for perhaps expressing the general opinion of the garrison, "that he and his comrades kept "guard for a company of Rascalls, meaning the Cittizens, and "that the said Cittizens would never leave off meddling with the "soldiers until their braynes were knockte out."

To return to the "beaver." The times are critical; there is the struggle for the mastery going on, with much emphatic language, between the Parliament and the army, and the 'Royalists take heart and hope that with all the discord their voice may again be heard. Vain hope! the only voice that can make itself heard is that of the army, calling for "justice." But there is an uneasy feeling abroad, and spite of strengthened gates and doubled guards, the authorities are not quite satisfied. They feel that they are not in accord with the citizens, that, in secret, they are despised and their principles detested—at all events by the great majority—and they resolve to encourage the faithful, and strike awe into the minds of the reprobates by a demonstration. They began to work up for this at the time they desired to obtain the services of Mr. Hurst, the preacher, and the "fair newe "beaver." The intention was to hold a grand anniversary of the surrender of the city to the power of the Parliament. There should be a state procession of the Mayor and his brethren to the great church, and a powerful preacher should be engaged to expound the orthodox doctrines of the Church of England as decreed by Act of Parliament; to declaim with pious horror against Rome and the High Church party on the one hand, and to hurl anathemas at the dissidents and sectaries on the other. But there could be no state procession without the swordbearer and his swords, and what would a swordbearer be without the cap of maintenance, even supposing one could be found so to humiliate himself.

Now the cap of maintenance of the present day was then in its

youth and beauty, the crimson velvet was fresh and brilliant in colour, and the gold fringe and flagree work stood out upon it resplendent. It must have struck the Chamber, that this splendour would be out of keeping with the sober garb and solemn demeanour which they affected, and the staid serious principles they professed, whilst at the same time it would be unsuitable to the occasion to make much of this symbol of loyalty, seeing that they had dragged the kingly mantle through the mire. Besides what might not the preacher say? He might have seen in it the "mark of the beast" (for it is not unlike a Cardinal's hat), and anticipating his leader, have horrified the congregation by crying out "take away that bauble."

So, sacrificing the feelings of the swordbearer, they compelled him to wear a fair new beaver; and if the preacher had been forewarned, what a text he would have had on which to found a homily! A week before the day of the anniversary, viz.:—

"6 April, 1647. It is agreed that Tuesday next, the 13th day "of this instant, shalbe solempnized as a day of thancksgiving for "the last rendering of this Cittie, & that the Preacher that is by "turne to preach that day be spoken unto for the pparing of "hymself for the purpose to preach in the forenoone. And this "Societie here desires to accompany Mr. Maior to the Church "that day," but, before the day arrived, they had secured the services of one equal to the occasion; or, perhaps, Parliament or the city members had sent him down.

Mr. John Bond, the minister who officiated, was a Presbyterian of the true type; he was of sufficient eminence to be nominated by Parliament to the Assembly of divines in 1643, and he held the office of regular preacher at the Savoy; he attained the degree of LL.D., and ultimately became Master of Trinity, Cambridge. A writer of the period says "that Bond's sermons contained "many strange positions, rebellious doctrines, religious cantings, "and I know not what," and adds quaintly, but significantly, "he died 30th August, 1658, the windiest day that had before "happened for twenty years."

"I would not be a Puritan, tho' he
Can preach two hours, and yet his sermon be
But half a quarter long,
Tho' from his old mechanic trade
By vision he's a Pastor made,
His faith was grown so strong."—*Cowley*.

We have no record of the sermon, but it proved successful, and was no doubt a powerful heart-stirring discourse, denouncing Popery and Prelacy, glorifying the Parliament, and condemning the Court. The Corporation returns to the Guildhall strongly impressed, for they immediately decide—nothwithstanding the poverty of the city—that £10 shall be expended on a piece of plate to be presented to “Mr. John Bond, Mynister of God’s word, for his great paynes this day.” Moreover such a treat as they had had should be repeated, and they agree “that this day shalbe yerelie hereafter commemorated for the deliverie of this Cittie from the enemy to the power of the Parliament.” But the second anniversary was never kept, for, by the time that was reached, the feeling began to dawn that it was not after all a cause for thanksgiving.

The removal of the court of the Princess Henrietta from Bedford House left the place vacant, and advantage seems to have been taken of the circumstance by the authorities to turn it into a Poor-house. A complaint was formally lodged at the Assizes of this act, for we find that “15 April, 1647, Whereas uppon complaynt to the Judges att the last Assize, for remoovall of the poore out of Bedford House, they were pleased to referr the same to Mr. Maior’s care and consideracon. This day the same was made known unto this house and it is thereuppon agreede that the saide poore people shalbe remooved out of the said house, especiallie those out of S^r John Northcott’s parte with as much speede as may be wth convenience.”

Whether Sir John Northcote was part owner, or tenant only, is not shown, but it has always been understood that the place belonged exclusively to the Bedford family. A large part of the land, now occupied by the houses on the western side, had been sold many years previously to the Chamber, for the purpose of building stables on the site, for the accommodation of the visitors to the New Inn. This New Inn, of which some original traces are still visible in the premises occupied by Mr. Green, was the great institution of the city. Here the three great fairs of the year were held, which attracted merchants from London and all parts—the principal personages

having offices of their own, in which to show their samples and make their contracts with the local manufacturers. It must have been a picturesque sight in those days—the pack horses streaming in from all sides, under the old gateways, past the guard in the sober uniform and close helmet of the period, and along the narrow streets—the good wives beaming with excitement at the lively scene, lamenting withal the good old times when they wound up the fair days with a dance to the music of viol and spinett, but now having a safe view from the lattice windows in the quaint old gables; and what bustle and confusion, before all was ready for business—the assemblage of hundreds of horses, the neighing and the stamping, and the anathemas of the stablemen (offences—value 5s. each—condoned on this particular occasion) the unloading of the packs, the greetings of friends and customers, and—the unpleasant side of the question—the inquisitorial demand if you are a Royalist in disguise, or have come from a plague-infected district.

At this time the serge-trade, as we are told in a minute, was the “principallest manufacture” of this kingdom, and Exeter was the chief emporium. It would appear as though the Puritan Chamber had given some offence to the London merchants, or perhaps had not been so generous in their hospitality as they should have been; for there is a resolve expressed that if “Londoners please to come to the fair they shalbe entertained as formerly,” and shortly afterwards the Town Clerk is entreated to confer with the Londoners about the shops in the New Inn, and to see if something cannot be done with the interlopers in the new drapery. It was thought necessary, however, to send Mr. Bennett express to London—which he would reach after three days’ travel—to see about the abuses in the serge-trade.

The following year, just before the fair, the Londoners, finding that they cannot well get on without us, rather sulkily make overtures of peace. Mr. West writes as follows:—

12 Oct., 1647. Worship^l Sir,—Having formerly made it my request to y^r late Mr. Maior that I might enioye my shopp in the New Inn, to wch I have bine yo^r long and anncient tenant, from whence I (expect) a very faire answere that my desire shold be accomplished, and nowe that I desire from you

as my lovinge friend is that I maye be as kindly dealt wthall in the Rate you shall sett upon it as you doe wth other men, not doubting butt you will consider of the tymes as nowe they are, and I shall readily give you content and take it a favor that you will please to afford a word in answer.

Y^r humble Servant,

London.

S. Fra. West.

And another gentleman will be satisfied with a little more light; as it is, he has to burn candles all day, and they are expensive. The quality of the merchants and the way in which they were mixed up with the military element are shown in another epistle:—

Right Worsh. Sr.

18 Sept., 1647. Beeinge debard that I cannot attend this Court have presumed (without offence I hope) to move for the grant of a shopp in the New Inn for the 3 ffaires paying the rent that others doth or have, and when leases are to bee given generall shall submit to a fyne proportionable, the shopp I desire is that Colonell Venn stood in, tis a doble shopp, the price is answerable. Yf I may not have that I desire the shopp Mr. Edgingham had, yt is next over the seller. I humbly crave youre favorable answer, soe takes leave.

Your humble Servant,

Bradninch.

W^m. Barrett.

One native industry, too much neglected in these days, was encouraged, in the most practical manner, by the Chamber. It having been discovered that one Katheryn “had expressed her “readiness to instructe yonge maydens in the art of making of “bone lace Mr. Sheriff and others are entreated to treat with her “about the same.”

The change in the government of the church enabled the authorities to secure useful accommodation for the growing trade of the city. On the 16th Feb., 1646, “it is agreede that the “Colledge Hall of the Vicar’s Corall of the Cathedral Church, “nowe to be disposed of, shalbe prcured for the use of this Cittie, “being adjoyning to the Yarne Markett, & that the same shalbe “employed for a comon wooll hall, or place to sell and kepe “wooll in.”

The feelings of orthodox Churchmen must have been outraged at this act of Vandalism, and still more so when, on 10th August, 1647, “Mr. Ald. Bennett made knowne that he hath of late “compounded wth the Committee of Parliament of Bishopp’s

“Landes, &c., for the Pallace and fee of the late Bishopprick of Exon for the ffyne of £450. And that this Chamber may take the same if they soe pleace, wch being mooved to the house, it is agreeede that the purchase shalbe pceeded with for the benefit of the Cittie.” And it was used as a store-house. The Puritans could not withstand the pleasure of possessing themselves of these substantial tokens of prelacy, notwithstanding that, at the same time, the city was so financially distressed that Parliament was petitioned “for some satisfaction for monies spent in its service” and that they might be eased of the general assessment—that Mr. Snowe’s (the member’s) wages were in arrear—that the Mayor’s pay was reduced to £100—and that the city wall had, for want of money, to be repaired with cob.

But the lands of the Dean and Chapter which they coveted were not to be theirs, and they find the pay of the ministers a burden, which they are anxious to transfer to other shoulders. And so on the 30th September, 1647, “it is agreed that a peticon shalbe ppared & psented to the high Corte of Parliam^t desiring their allowance and confirmacon of a rate or imposicon in the yerelie rente of severall houses of this Cittie towards the maintenance of the Ministers here, not exceeding the rate of 2/- p £.” We can easily draw conclusions respecting the proclivities, political and religious, of the unfortunate owners of those several houses. That the persecution of those who held different views was grievous is shown in the action taken by Parliament in the case of the Town Clerk. It could not be a question of loyalty, for the Parliament still professed allegiance to the King; but Samuel Izacke was a Churchman of the old school, and would rather lose his appointment than pretend to change his belief. He was the father of Richard Izacke and grandfather of Samuel Izacke, both historians of their native city, and successive Chamberlains.

Samuel, the elder, had been Town Clerk for a great number of years and had gained the respect of all parties. Just before the surrender of the city to Fairfax, the Chamber instructed the Recorder and Counsel to prepare a patent of the office, in order that he might permanently and quietly enjoy it, whatever should happen, “he having given ample testimonie of his orderlie

"care and demeanour in the same office for many years past." But the ordinance of the Presbyterian Parliament was rigorously enforced, and he was ordered to "forbear to execute his office." It speaks volumes for the honest old man, that even the subservient Chamber hesitated to turn him out, and tried to find some means by which he could retain his place.

"16 Nov., 1647. Agreed that whereas election of a new Towne-Clarke hath byn deferred two severall tymes formerly It bee further deferred untill Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Dodridge (Parliamt men and of Councell for this Citty), bee written unto and their opinion & judgement desired concerning the two later ordinances of Parliamt and the Articles made att the last surrender of this Citty whether y^e Town Clarke bee capable of his place by virtue of those Articles or disabled by the ordinance. And it is agreed that letters bee forthwith written to the said gentlemen for the decision of the question, as also to Mr. Prideaux for a deputation to have power to elect a Towne Clarke in case advise bee soe given." But it was useless; obedience to the ordinance was insisted upon, and he had to give up his office to John Ffarthing, who, however, did not retain it long, but was dismissed, probably for incompetence, if we may judge from the way in which he kept his books.

Richard Izacke was still smarting under the remembrance of the wrong done to his father, when years afterwards he wrote his history of Exeter. Referring to the time, he says:—"A sequestrator was then found to be like the great Sultan's horse, that where he treads the grass grows no more; in a word they ruined the father, beggared the son, and strangled the hopes of all posterity in many flourishing families, as too sad experience hath informed too many now alive. My litany or supplication is stedfast." I have had in my hands the author's own copy of his work, and in the margin of the page opposite the passage quoted he has written "In all wch tortures y^e author's ffather has not y^e least pportion, who drank soe deep of that bitter cupp as that some have smarted for y^e same to this very day. Teste meipso."

On 1st June, 1647, the King was taken—as some supposed

by his own connivance—out of the power of the Parliament, and lodged a prisoner at Hampton Court, by the army, then stationed there. The soldiers repudiated the basis of the settlement, on which the Parliament would have restored the monarchy, and entered into negotiations with the King through Ireton—Cromwell's son-in-law—who propounded a plan of political reform, so masterly comprehensive and liberal, that even now, after we have been slowly creeping onwards for more than two hundred years, the large and far seeing policy, then submitted for the King's approval, has not been reached. What an opportunity here presented itself! Charles might have returned to his throne triumphant, the opposing armies joining with one voice and arm to praise his wisdom and support his dignity; and the whole nation—with the exception of a few bigots—would have enthusiastically welcomed him, had he cordially accepted the great Act of settlement laid before him. "You cannot do without me—you are lost if I do not support you" was his reply, and notwithstanding his evasions, Cromwell and Ireton still pressed the King closely, in the strong hope that an accommodation might be brought about. All the time the King was conducting a delusive negotiation with the Parliament on the one hand, and preparing for a Royalist rising and for an invasion of the Scots on the other. The army grew restless and suspicious, and the Council of Officers mooted the question of abolishing Royalty itself, but Cromwell, passionately desirous of a settlement, forbade the discussion and sent them back to their regiments. But in the midst of his hopes the King fled, and the rage of the soldiers became such that Cromwell was powerless to break the spirit which pervaded them.

Charles had made his way to Carisbrook Castle hoping for the sympathy of the governor, in which he was disappointed, and again found himself a prisoner. From his prison he contrived to open negotiations with the Parliament, as well as with the Scots, prevailing upon the latter to declare war against England, and support the Royalist cause.

The differences between the army and Parliament had the effect of drawing a strong party towards the King, in horror of

the political and religious changes which appeared to be imminent ; there were risings in Kent, Essex, and Hertford, South Wales was up in arms, and part of the fleet had revolted from the Parliament. The second Civil War had begun, and, exasperated at the renewal of the conflict when peace seemed so near, the army abandoned all thought of a reconciliation with the King. Generals and soldiers were bound together in one stern resolve, to trample out the new revolt, and "if ever the Lord brought peace again, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he has shed and the mischief he has done."

The precautions necessary at this crisis brought a heavy burden upon our city, in the shape of a considerable addition to the military force herein stationed.

On 3rd Feb., 1648, it is "agreed that Mr. Henry Prigg bee entreated to ride to London to peticon the Parliamt and sollicit o f friends and the Chiefe of the Army for the easing this Citty of the Burden of Souldiers now quartering here, and it is ordered that Mr. Prigg shall have his charges and expenses in that journey borne and defrayed by this Chamber, and also that he shalbe otherwise gratified for his paynes herein."

It was useless to petition the Parliament—they were taking advantage of the crisis to profess adherence to the King, and to re-open negotiations with him, at the same time passing one of the most bigoted ordinances in matters of religion that could well be conceived. The destinies of England were in the hand of the army, and the Chief was not likely to care much about the inconvenience of the Chamber of Exeter with such an issue at stake.

Whether or not any reply was granted to the petition, not long afterwards many more soldiers were brought into the city, and the Chamber, in a rage, on "9 May, 1648, Ordered that Mr. Mayor do not consent to the quartering and billeting of the Soldiers which came into the City yesterday, there being Tavernes, Inns, and Alehouses sufficient. An express to be sent to London for the removal of the Soldiers."

I am afraid Mr. Mayor found some difficulty in carrying out the order, and the express would be an useless trouble and

expense. The next day the Chamber met again to consider the demand of the General—probably preferred in a rather forcible way.

10 May, 1648—It is this day ordered uppon demand of quart^r by S^r Hardress Waller his Lieutenant Colonel for severall companyes of that foot Regiment att present in this Citty, that Mr. Maior (in regard of the great sumes due for former quarters by that regiment which contrary to severall orders & ordinances of Parliam^t & y^e publicke & solemne engagements of the said S^r Hardress Waller remayne still unsatisfied to the great grievance and oppression of this place) bee desired not to consent to or give order for y^e quartering of y^e said regiment in p^{ri}vat howses, there beeing Tavernes, Innes, & Alehowses sufficient for their entertainment according to their severall orders and instructions of Pliam^t (whom we have acquaynted with our p^{re}sent condicon by an express post) and if it shall please the honorable howses to require us, notwithstanding the p^{ro}misses to give the quarter demanded, wee shall most readily comply with their comands & yeeld thereunto most willing & cheerful obedience.

Wch order was sent to y^e Lieutenant Colonell by the Swordbearer, accompanied with Mr. Arundell & Mr. Hooper, Constables, which was accordingly delivered unto him in the presence of many other officers belonging to that regiment, the next day between 8 and 9 of the clock in the morning.

Probably the Lieut. Colonel was not much impressed with the civic pageant including the "fine new beaver," for we find the grievance still under discussion five days later. On

15 May, 1648, Uppon report from Mr. Maior that S^r Hardress Waller did by message this morning, brought to him by Major Smith and Major Sanders, (two of his officers) make demands of very great consequence to this Citty. It is this day ordered that all publicke transactions between the Citty and the said S^r Hardress Waller (to p^{re}vent mistakes which may in matters of importance, especially att this tyme, prove very dangerous and p^{re}judiciall) bee made in writing and all demands and answers accordingly to bee given and received.

A Copy of a } S^r The message which yo^r officers, Major Smith and
letter sent to S^r } Major Sanders, brought to mee this morning hath been
Hardress Waller } comunicated to the Comon Councell, and uppon debate
and consideracon, It is unanimously resolved & desired by them That all transactions may bee made in writeing to p^{re}vent mistakes & jelousies as otherwise may arise by verball messages. If you please to deliver yo^r desires unto them in that way you may expect a speedy answer.

By Act of y^e Com Councell, A. BENNET, Maior.

This letter was ordered to bee sent to S^r Hardress Waller by the Swordbearer.

The correspondence ceases, and we are led to the painful conclusion that the General would have no more trouble in the matter and took the law into his own hands. The Chamber is

not satisfied and labours under the delusion that the Parliament is still a power in the land, and capable of redressing grievances.

“26 May, 1648. It is ordered that letters bee written to
“Mr. Snow desireing him to move and endeavour for the
“Parliaments order that the Castle of Exon may be under the
“comand of the Militia of the Citty and in the hands and keeping
“of the Cittizens and to gett as good allowance as hee cann for
“the souldiers that shalbe placed therin for the keeping thereof.”

These protests are useless now, but they are duly noted by Sir Hardress, and the following year the General condescends a friendly remonstrance and appeals to the patriotism of the authorities in the following letter :—

Mr. Mayo^r & Gen^t

Since my return into these Westerne pts I have endeavoured to put the service of the Comonwealth into the best posture I may with these fforces under my comand, and presuming you will hold it your duties to doe the like, I doe by these advertise you that I have sent my Lieut. Colonell wth three companies of my owne regiment to quarter for some tyme within yo^r Citty of Exeter ; I suppose I need not mind you how regardfull I have been of that place, forbearinge soe longe tyme quartering any men there, and whilst it was a burthen, either in respect of their quarter or billett, I made hard shift to dispose otherwise of them, keeping them abroad in order to ffeild service untill the winter now coming on tis high tyme to send them where they may have fitt acomodation for that season, neither do I beleeve you could expect soe small a number by reason of the capacity of yo^r Citty, and consideringe how longe the small townes abroad have undergone the entertayninge of them, and that wch may yet further prevent any inconvenience is that they will be but as ffrinds & guests for defence, & benefitt to yo^r Citty, I must therefore desire and expect from you that you would afford that complyançe & assistance wch the Parliament have ordered on that behalfe, and that there may bee such a mutuall correspondencē betwixt the officers and yorselves that the publique may bee the better carryed on, I having given order to my Lieut. Colonell (whom I send to comand these men) to bee very vigilant over the carriage of the souldier, and to punish where any iniury shalbe offered to any townesman, that soe wth the more justice I may expect the like where any townsman shall iniure a souldier, and thus desireinge there may bee reciprocall indeavour to advance the publique intrest, I rest

Gent,

Pendennis,

Your Serviceable ffrind,

Sept. the 25th, 1649.

HAR: WALLER.

At the present moment all the moving in the world, either by Mr. Snow or any other member, will have no effect whatever—

the situation is fearful, and the prospect ominous; insurrections flaming up in all parts, general agitation, and forebodings of evil days imminent. It is the last blaze before the darkness; Parliament and the army at variance, and yet the one paying the soldiers and the other pretending to be acting under the orders of the house; martial law, firm, unflinching and severe alone prevents universal disaster and chaos. Exeter must be patient under her burdens, and be thankful she is not now like Pembroke, holding out stubbornly and loyally, though battered and half starved, against Cromwell and his troops outside the walls fuming at the delay in sending on the artillery.

Let loose from Pembroke by the surrender of the place, Cromwell and his soldiers, terribly in earnest, hasten northwards to meet the Scots under Duke Hamilton, whilst Fairfax is stamping out the fitful risings nearer home, and the Chamber sees to the defences of the city, and orders the walls to be forthwith thoroughly repaired. The eyes of England are turned anxiously to that little army now hurrying northwards. To the King, to the Parliament, to the revolted mariners, and to the towns which have proclaimed for Charles, the issue is momentous. It is soon over—the battle of Preston ~~Pens~~ settles all. “We have quite tired our horses in pursuit of the enemy,” writes Cromwell, “we have killed, taken, and disabled all their foot, this is a glorious day: God help England to answer his mercies!”

Sweeping through Scotland—victorious everywhere—Cromwell hastens back to London upon tidings reaching him that the Parliament is again coquetting with the King.

About this time the Chamber finds that Mr. Farthing is not equal to the duties of the office of Town Clerk in these difficult times, and therefore elects in his place the Sheriff of the city, as appears from the minute, though he is not named as such either in Izacke's or Oliver's list.

“21 Sept., 1648. Thomas Westlake elected Town Clerk, he took the oath of allegiance and supremacy—and was allowed to travel ‘att the termes’ for one year thereafter at the pleasure of the Council—and to be absent on his duties as Sheriff till they terminate.”

Crimination and re-crimination twixt the army and Parliament, until Cromwell, losing all patience, obtained a majority in the house by preventing the royalist Presbyterians from entering. It was obvious in the then temper of the army that the fate of the King was sealed. Subservient to the soldiers, whom they dared not thwart, the packed Parliament voted—"That the King had been the cause of all the blood which had been spilt, and therefore it was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his tyranny and murders." A Committee was appointed to prepare "a charge of high treason against the King which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanours of his reign." Surely no more moving spectacle was ever produced in the world's history than this trial of England's King; the tenacious assertor of divine right and royal prerogative, calm, haughty, dignified, never more a King than now, when majesty is hated and scorned, he smiles contemptuously on his judges, as though in amused surprise at their daring presumption. And they, stern, austere, relentless men, in earnest faith of doing the will of heaven, feared nothing on earth.

The two arch-fanatics, Charles and Cromwell, brought face to face—so like and yet so unlike—each believing his cause and his mission to be divine—self-willed and imperious, tyrants both! Bradshaw, the new Lord Chief Justice, unwillingly drawn to his high position from his chambers in Gray's Inn, sitting in judgment upon an already condemned man—but Fairfax, the successful General, the champion of the Parliamentary cause, where is he? His is the second name called, and the answer comes in a woman's voice from the gallery: "he hath more wit than to be here" is the reply of his dauntless wife; and again, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used "All the good people of England" the same voice in a louder tone answered "No! nor 'the hundredth part of them.'"

—"there in treason's face
Fore all men too ashamed to think of shame,
My voice, oh had it but a trumpet's blazon!
A woman's voice, when chivalry is dumb,
Shall break the silence, and in traitors' hearing
Cry vengeance, vengeance for a murdered King."

Butler's Charles I.

The soldiers are ordered to shoot into the box whence the voice emanated, but the mission of Lady Fairfax was done, and she had fled after proclaiming the truth that ninety-nine per cent. of the people of England looked on in helpless horror at these lawless and high-handed proceedings.

The execution of the King was followed, says Carlyle, by "shrieks throughout all the world in unmelodious soul comprising diapason of distraction. The truth is, no reader can conceive the then atrocity, ferocity, unspeakability of this fact. I reckon it perhaps the most daring action any body of men to be met with in History ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do."

The death of the King made Republicanism an impossibility and the Restoration a certainty—that thrill of horror, which vibrated through English hearts and made its influence felt for more than two centuries, has perhaps preserved England from the changes and disasters, which all the other nations of Europe have suffered during that period.



EXETER DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

PART III.

The news of the execution of the King was, perhaps, nowhere received with greater horror and indignation, than in Exeter. Whilst in Russia the English Envoy was chased from the court, and on the continent all the powers hastened to disavow connexion with a people, who had brought their King to the block, here in this city the authorities seem to have become paralyzed with doubt and apprehension in the critical state of affairs; and this feeling probably pervaded most of the people. The corporate body did not meet again for three months after the event became known, and then only to vote the wages of the members of Parliament, and at the same time to receive an account of their stewardship, peculiarly interesting under the circumstances. In the meantime, the Mayor, Mr. Gould—who, we are told, was like Alexander, a little man but possessed of undaunted courage—had been served with the proclamation of the new Republic, which he, without hesitation, cast into the gutter. He, also, at the Assizes, refused to attend upon Mr. Justice Wylde, who was one of the Judges at the trial of the King, and so annoyed his lordship that he fined the Mayor £200, and held the following Assize at Tiverton. The fine was resisted and appealed against, and ultimately remitted; but a more serious matter was the attempt of the Judge to interfere with the liberties and privileges of the city of Exeter, by calling in question the validity of its charters, and the boundaries of its jurisdiction, doubting whether it could claim to be a county of itself. The uncertain state of affairs is shewn in the inaction of the Criminal Court; for more than nine months there is not a single charge for swearing, travelling on

Sundays, or assault, and the usual vexatious summonses disappear from the record. Perhaps the authorities were apprehensive that King Mob would succeed to power, and so refrained from giving that not very particular personage a pretext for revenge. Mr. Richard Crossing, and some half-a-dozen other members of the Corporation threw up their office in disgust, and the affairs of the city drift along in a desultory way until Michaelmas; the only public business, of importance, transacted, being the appointment of one Trinching to wind up the clock of St. Peter's Church, and the ceremony of giving up the keys of the great chest by the late Town Clerk, and their being solemnly deposited in the box by Mr. Mayor.

In September, however, there are signs of activity. Cromwell's vigorous campaign in Ireland, which resulted in the speedy and complete conquest of that country, doubtless inspired confidence in the power of the Government, now vested in what remained of the Long Parliament. To endeavour to win Mr. Crossing back to his duty, he was, by private scrutiny, elected Mayor of the city; but it was useless—he refused the office, and his reason for doing so we have preserved to us in his own hand-writing. In a MS. record of events by Crossing, amongst the municipal archives, there is this entry:—

RICHARD SANDERS	} 1649.	These were deputy Mayors appointed by the Chamber for this yeare in regard that Richard Crossinge (who was elected Maior) refused to serve in the sayd office, because the kingly government was then by armed violence obstructed.
ADAM BENNET		

“Being openly and solemnly called, he appeared not,” and Mr. Richard Saunders was thereupon appointed Lieutenant of the Mayoralty, with an allowance of twenty nobles weekly for expenses, and indemnified against all damage or loss.

Considerable perplexity prevailed as to the course to be pursued under the unusual circumstance, and the Town Clerk and Recorder were requested to consult together and advise what should be done. The result was that Mr. Crossing was fined £400, and Mr. Saunders, as Lieutenant, elected to the office. At the same time, Mr. Culling, who refused to act as Bailiff, was fined one hundred marks.

Mr. Saunders, however, declined the doubtful honor and certain responsibility of the onerous post of Chief Magistrate in such critical times, and it so happened that for a whole year Exeter had no Mayor at all. A good deputy was found in Mr. Adam Bennett, and, judging from their subsequent liberality towards him, the Corporation must have been well pleased to find so able a man, with courage enough to take the helm at this juncture.

19 Feb., 1650. Whereas the Lieutenancy of the office of Maioralty of this Cittie of Exeter unto wch Mr. Richard Saunders one of the Aldermen was lately chosen is at an end upon his late Eleccion unto the said office of Maioraltie of the said Cittie. This Chamber thankfullie acknowledging the good service wch the said Mr. Saunders hath done for the support of the Govm^t of this Cittie dureing the said time of his lieutenancy. And being willing according to their duties and trusts to use all means possible to continue the supportacon and preservation of Gov^t of this Cittie Doe hereby constitute order and make Adam Bennett Esq. one of the Aldermen of this Cittie to bee Lieutenant of the Office of Maioralty of the s^d Cittie untill Mr. Richard Saunders who is elected to bee the psent Maior of this Cittie shall take on him the said execution of the said Office of Maioralty. And this day the said Mr. Bennett upon the instant desire of this Chamber in this tyme of the Citties greate straights hath professed his readiness freely to undertake the said office of Lieutenant. And that hee doth the same only in relacon to the discharge of the greate trusts wherewith the Chamber is invested the preservation of the privileges of the Cittie, supportation of Government, mainetayning of Justice in this place and not in waie of any contempt or opposicin to any superior powers whatsoever. All which this Chamber doth acknowledge as an acceptable Service from Mr. Bennett and doe give him the hearty thanks of this Chamber for the service.

These proceedings were carefully noted by the friends of the Government, and reported to the Council of State. By an order in Council the "gentlemen of Exeter are thanked for their care in giving notice of the miscarriages and defects of those who refuse to act there under the present Government, and to desire them to continue it." And the Attorney-General is to be informed "that at Exeter some oaths have been framed and taken, differing from what is appointed by the Parliament, and desired to proceed against those who have done so by 'quo warranto' or otherwise." Shortly afterwards the Chamber retaliates by prosecuting suits against these gentlemen for money lent them, and for the cost of billeting soldiers.

But the Council of State were quite right in keeping a watchful eye upon Exeter. A spirit of revolt against the Government existed, which was only kept down by the presence of the soldiers, and secret conspiracies were being fomented in the interest of Charles the Second. In October, 1649, "Sir Hardress Waller, the Governor of the Castle, is ordered to look after a most desperate malignant, Richard Ford, who has, it is believed, come to Exeter about some design of special mischief on behalf of Charles Stuart." We learn from the State papers that in May, 1650, "Col. Keane, an emissary of Charles II., reports that the much greater part of the western gentry were all resolved to engage: that each man was to bring in horses, men, and arms proportionable to his estate: that there were assurances of several towns, particularly Exeter, &c.: that the foot promised by the King ought to be landed near Exeter."

A month before this, the ministers of religion, who had been very active in exciting discontent and opposition to the Government, are seriously taken to task. These ministers, or preachers, were engaged by the Chamber; and to explain its policy, it must be stated, that although it was mainly composed of Puritan members, they were men who were in favour of the old constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, and if they took the side of the Parliament against the King, it was in the hope and expectation that His Majesty could be compelled to give way, and rule in a constitutional manner. Since the King's death there was some hope that a compromise might be effected with his son; what was most feared was a despotic military rule, to which things were fast hastening.

The Council of State forward a despatch to Major Blackmore, in charge at the Castle, in the absence of Sir H. Waller, who had been sent to Munster with five companies of soldiers from Exeter:—

1650, APRIL 1.—COUNCIL OF STATE TO MAJOR BLACKMORE AT EXETER.

The Commonwealth suffers much both in safety and reputation by the intemperate declarations and seditious invectives of some men in their pulpits: wherein not knowing or forgetting the duty of men in those places they have endeavoured, for the setting up an interest of their own, destructive of that of

the public, to stir up the people to disobedience, and again to embroil us in new troubles, and enflame the nation into another war. The men have been long forborne, hoping that they might have come to themselves, seen their error, and desisted from their dangerous courses; but this forbearance has added to their boldness, and they have gone on to such a degree that the Commonwealth cannot be safe, if they be suffered under the veil of their learning and knowledge, and their pretended calling, to abuse and mislead the people.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Nicholls, preachers at Exeter, are principally active, but that we may have a more full information of their miscarriages, and take the best course for the public peace, we desire you to repair to some Justices of the Peace with this letter, and desire them to take information of the miscarriages of these men, both by examination of themselves, and of witnesses who offer to testify concerning the expressions in their preaching or praying against the present Government, or about any matter of State; and to certify those examinations under your hand to Council with all expedition, that a speedy course may be taken to prevent those mischiefs which by so long conniving at their seditious practices may dangerously interrupt the public peace.

But matters do not improve, Charles the Second was King in Scotland, and the battle of Dunbar not yet fought. The opposition of the preachers continues:—

“June 17, 1650. The information given concerning the ministers of Exeter not keeping the Fast to be sent to the Committee for plundered ministers, and Mr. Scott to move at that Committee that they may be effectually proceeded against according to the “Acts.”—*State Papers*.

“June 24, 1650. Information concerning the miscarriage of some preachers—if the matter is proved to require them to leave the town and not return; if any other person of like temper to proceed in like manner. Col. Desborow to assist the Governor with the forces if necessary, and do what is required of him for the safety of the place.”—*State Papers*.

There is an odd charge in connexion with Mr. Ford, the preacher referred to, in an indictment against one Matthewe Purkis, who “took occasion to speake of Mr. Fford preaching within this Cittie and sayd that the sayd Mr. Fford was a witch and a rebell.” His witness, however, deposed that he heard Purkis call Mr. Fford “a wizard and a lyar,” and that “the scripture meaning the Bible was but a dead letter.” This Mr. Purkis said openly in Court, “that rather than be destroyed

“by such unrighteous men hee would take upp his sworde and “fight again,” and “contemptuously putt on his hatt.” On a subsequent occasion this same man was brought up for blasphemous language inconceivably horrible, and would have got cheaply off but that he abused the magistrate for imposing a fine, whereupon he had to pay £5 more and go to prison for six months.

The troublous time and political differences would, of course, have a most depressing effect upon the trade of the city. The exports and imports at this time, however, were only one-fourth on the list of the ports out of London. Newcastle, Bristol, and Hull, exceeded Exeter, but Plymouth and Liverpool were far below her. The falling off in the trade, as the decline of the Port dues testifies, caused increased watchfulness in protecting the monopolies of the Companies; and the jealousy of the freemen lest strangers should participate in their privileges is shown in frequent broils and references to the magistrates. In all cases, strangers are ordered to quit the city, but their expulsion was sometimes preceded by rather rough usage.

8 April, 1650. Henry Keene complains that one Horwood came to his house saying that the servant he employed was “entertayned as a stranger,” and the said Horwood “layd “violent hands on him, the servant, and carried him to the river “side beyond Exe bridge, where hee, togeather wth divers other “persons, mett together fell uppon the said Ffoxe and sett him “on a coole staff and wthall carried him to the river side, where “they threwe him into the river to the great endangering of “his life.”

The rout of the Scottish forces at Dunbar in September, 1650, left Cromwell and the army pretty well masters of the situation. The probability of a strong and stable, if disagreeable, Government, seems to have inspired our local authorities with confidence, and they resume, with something like their old vigour, the supervision and correction of the “moralities” of the people. A fortnight later, the wife of a “barrelbearer” summoned Grace Tithen for swearing one oath. Thenceforward, up to the restoration, the number of petty offences of this character were ever increasing, almost justifying the bitter remark of one offender,

that they were only prosecuted in order to benefit the magistrates, meaning that, as the fines inflicted went towards the relief of the poor, so much the less had the wealthy ratepayers to contribute. A favourable specimen of the rowdy cavalier of the period appears in the case of Mr. Shellin Napper, who swore (with a great oath) he was a gentleman, and failing to put Mr. Crosse on the fire, broke his head in two places. Being informed that the guard would know of it, he said "he cared not a * * * for "all the guards in England." Sent to gaol and fined 20s. Whilst a prisoner in South-gate he was heard to swear 300 oaths.

The punishment for uttering one oath was the infliction of a penalty, at first of 5s., but when the cases became more numerous it was reduced to 3s. 4d. If there was more than one oath, some reduction per oath was allowed, and a liberal discount granted for a volley. It is curious that, with all the objections of the Puritans to an oath, every witness who came before them was required to be sworn before his evidence could be taken. What was the nature of these costly expressions? None of them of a very flagrant character, and the mildest form could scarcely offend the most fastidious, but to say "by my faith," or "as I live," was quite as expensive a luxury as the most powerful expletive. The morals of the people must, however, be carefully looked after. Servants are not allowed to be idle, but must choose between service and the bridewell. John Twigge and Humfray Southcott are each fined 10s. for travelling on horseback from Woodbury on the Lord's Day. Similar charges are numerous, as are those for "being wanting from church yesterday in the afternoone," "for "being found in a suspicious manner during sermon time," "for entertayning of company on the Lord's Day in time of "public ordinances." "Jane Dicker was seen in her own house "suspiciously near Francis Hamlin by a person who was passing "near the door, and both committed to bridewell." Joan Trenicke being taken up as a stranger, the first question asked her was whether or not she was at church yesterday; replying that she was not, but spent most of the day in knitting, she was set in the stocks. Densham, a dyer by trade, and his wife, were fined for having company at breakfast on the Lord's Day, as deposed by

one of the guests, upon whom Densham turned round and got him fined for an oath. Even the outward manifestation of the tender passion was accounted a crime, and whatever regard a pair of lovers might have for each other, they must confine it to their own breasts, and not dare to scandalize public morality by walking up the street together!

"27 June, 1651. Sidwell Saunders and George Manning have "acknowledged to the keepers of the liberty of England, by "authority of Parliament, the some of xl. a peece that they will "appeare att the next Sessions and give evidence agst Mr. Smith "and Joane Tutwell." The dreadful offence against the keepers of the liberty of England was "for keeping company together, they being engaged to be married!"

That there was a spirit in the people which, despite the pressure exercised in order to keep it down, blazed out fiercely at times is shewn in the case where,—

"14 April, 1651. Two constables doe informe that yesterday "last they goeing to the house of Richard Templer, inn-holder, to "take up and impresse certaine horses and other provisions for "the psent service of the Comonwealth they were opposed therein "by Joane the wife of the said Richard Templer insomuch that "they having seized on two paire of crubbs and setting them on "horses backes the said Joane tooke them off againe and tore "them in peeces in the presence of these informants whereby the "crubbs became unserviceable."

But the constables, aided doubtless by soldiers, prevailed and carried off the horses, for the next day an ostler from a rival Inn, whose master was the devoted servant of the Commonwealth, complains that he was "ridying severall horses belonging to "certaine Troopers to drinke and ridying downe the streete neare "the townewell, he sawe divers boys playing together" and amongst them the son of Templer, who, excited at seeing his father's property in such hands, threw a stone which struck the ostler in the back. Burning with revenge, he chased the boy home to his father's door, but was there stopped by a blow in the face, delivered with emphasis by Mr. Templer, who covered his son's retreat. Public sympathy, in that part of the town, at all

events, was not with the Commonwealth, for we are told that the mob assembled in a mutinous and tumultuous manner, and it was not until the soldiers had drawn their swords and used them freely that peace was restored. Mr. Templer was also informed against for selling beer without a license, though it is somewhat difficult to conceive why he should have been allowed to keep an Inn, and yet forbidden to sell beer. It would appear, however, that this was a kind of weapon held "in terrorem" over the unfortunate publicans, who were allowed to follow their calling with certain licenses, which a quibble could upset at any time when occasion demanded.

But the authorities, with the saints militant at the Castle to support them, shewed a sublime contempt for public opinion, and in the matter of Inns and Innkeepers their policy would receive the cordial approval of even Sir Wilfrid Lawson, *e.g.*

"18 April, 1653. Ordered by the Courte that noe licenses be "granted for the sale of Ale or Beer to any person or persons "whatsoever within this Citty and County of the same Citty but "to such as the Churchwardens Constables or three other godly "people within their respective limitts shall first give testimoney "of the fitness of such person and persons as are to be bound. "And that all the Justices within the said Citty shall approve and "allowe of such licenses by signing them."

The repressive system would naturally have an effect on the spirits of the people and engender a gloomy state of the mind, tending to strange fancies and groundless fears—a state peculiarly susceptible of a belief in witchcraft. No surprise need therefore be felt that there should be some cases on the record; but that Justices of the Peace—men of education and social position—should be found to seriously investigate and accept evidence in such cases, is only explainable on the ground that bigotry and superstition ever go hand in hand. Two or three examples of this kind may suffice.

THREE WITCH STORIES.

13 Nov., 1652. Grace Mathewe came to the Guildhall with a complaint that about three years ago, her husband was taken sick, and was supposed to have been bewitched. She consulted Doctor

Browne who gave her some "phisicall directions," which however did no good. The doctor then said that he could formerly cure people that had been bewitched, and told Mrs. Mattheve to go to a woman at Broadclist, who was some time his servant: This she did, and then having some remedies given her for her husband she was warned against a woman living near to her, who was "tall of stature, of a pale face, and blinking eye, "and useing to goe by a staff when she did come to her house," and that, if she did so come, Mrs. Mattheve should give her nothing, but say that her husband was bewitched, and that a plot was laid for the suspected one. On returning from Broadclist, Mrs. Mattheve at once set about applying the prescribed remedies, one of which was a general purification of her husband's body with soap and water. At the "instant tyme" this process was being applied, the witch, feeling that the spells on her victim were being interfered with, knocked at the door, and in the person of Joane Baker, the butcher's wife, demanded admittance. This was rather more than peremptorily refused, but watching her opportunity the witch slipped into the house the same evening, only to find that the remedies of the Broadclist woman were proof against her arts, and that Mr. Mattheve could defy them. Nothing daunted she drew her spells around an unfortunate servant-maid there present, so that for three-quarters of a year she was sick "in Almsgiving condition, being also greatlie pyned and consumed "away in her body and soe dyed." She had often cried out in her sickness that she was bewitched. The witch's own family appear to have been considerably exercised at her conduct, and it was probably a matter of lively discussion as to what should be done with her, and who should do it. At length Peter Baker, being urged on by his father-in-law, plucked up courage, and at seven o'clock in the evening, upon some specious pretence, suddenly entered Baker's house and walked into the room, where he saw Joane the witch sitting by the fire with a toad in her lap and two more at her feet. The evidence was considered to be sufficient and complete, and the prisoner was forthwith committed to gaol.

12 August, 1654. One Diana Crosse a widow, suspected of

being a witch, was ordered by the Judge of Assize to be committed for trial at the City Sessions. Mr. Ezekiel Tribble, a tobacco pipe maker, one of the victims of the witch's arts, deposed that Mrs. Crosse on one occasion came to his house for fire, which was delivered to her, but for the space of one month afterwards he could not make or work his tobacco pipes to his satisfaction—they were altogether either over or under burnt. The witch, too, cast her evil eye upon a boy in his employ, and "affirmed" that he should never be well, and thereupon the boy "grewe into a "distracted condition, and was much consumed and pyned "away in body."

Mrs. Dicker, another witness, stated that Mrs. Crosse came to her house begging, that she declined to relieve her, at the same time imprudently calling her an old witch—which was resented in menacing language. It was not long before one of her children fell sick, and in cleansing her house she found a toad in her chamber and divers small worms.

A third witness, the wife of a worsted comber, said that Mrs. Crosse had come to her house begging for drink, but that latterly she had been refused, and in consequence two of her children fell sick. She also called to her remembrance that her husband, about two years since, had fallen sick, and had been much pained and grieved in his limbs, that she consulted Dr. Browne, asking for some remedy, but that the case was so mysterious he could not give any, and the only thing he would suggest was that she should go home and give her husband some hot broth, and that he must "be wary and have a care" another time. She also deposed, that coming to her house one day she found the chimney all ablaze, with little or no fire on the hearth. Under ordinary circumstances she would have been surprised, but having heard that Diana Crosse had surreptitiously entered her room, she was not so.

The evidence of the next witness carried all the weight of official authority. He was no less a personage than the Sergeant at Mace. Standing at the door of the Council Chamber, he was approached by the widow, and was asked to convey a humble petition to the Mayor. Rash enough to refuse, a week afterwards his

wife fell sick, and complained much in her limbs ; his son fell and broke his arm ; and, sadder still, the drink which he had brewed would not run out at the "penn." " Mary Cleake informeth that " on Saturday last was senight the said Diana Crosse being " brought downe to the Maudlyn, without Southgate, where one " Johan Poole, her sister, is kept, being in a sadd and distracted " condition, she, the said Poole, fell psently uppon Diana, and " beating her cryed out that shee was her adversary." Mrs. Cleake at once proceeded to the proof by pricking the suspected witch twelve times with a needle ; and there was no longer any doubt about the matter, when it was found that no blood was drawn, and that she neither felt nor grudged the infliction. But the most extraordinary witness was Mrs. Southcott, the wife of a tailor. She goes back with her evidence to a period thirteen years antecedent, when she placed a daughter of hers at Mrs. Crosse's school, but disapproving of it, not long afterwards, removed her to the school of one " Goodwife Woodman." The child soon became sick, lay in a languishing condition for five years, and then died ; five weeks had scarcely elapsed when her first husband died ; and seven weeks thereafter the " goodwife Woodman " died also. During the child's illness she consulted Mrs. Mainwaye, whose husband was a doctor of physic, and asked for some " phisicall remedies," but the only prescription she got was " to have a care."

4 Jan., 1658. Johan Furnace is complained of for bewitching one Greene, who gets taken with fits in his head and distempers in his body ; he seems to be well and talks sensibly in the presence of the witch, but directly she is out of sight he goes distracted again. One of his children, too, had been " creemed," and he believed it would have been the case again had not the witch been feed with " scutes," or small pieces of silver.

The finances of the city in the year 1651 were in a deplorable state, they had not recovered the lavish expenditure of eight years previously, when the city made such efforts on behalf of the Parliament, to keep out the army under Prince Maurice. To raise funds on that occasion they borrowed money from anyone who would lend, upon the credit of the Chamber, and succeeded

in obtaining about £15,000, a certain proportion of this sum being money belonging to the public charities. These liabilities were becoming inconvenient, and an effort is made to grapple with them :—

21st Jan^y. 1651. It is this day agreed by the generall vote of this Chamber that whereas in the years 1642 & 1643, when this Citty was held for the Parliam^t against the King's Armye (and all other wayes of raising monie to pay and ffree the souldiers & make good the fortification & the defence of the Cittie fayled) this Chamber was necessited as the last and only remedie to ppose the giving of their comon seal for the repayment of such monies as should be lent thereon and for such pvisions as should be furnished for maintenance of the Garrison, whereuppon divers well affected psons furnished monies and pvisions for wch some of them had the said seale accordingly as by the Actes of this Chamber att that time more at large appereth. And whereas also this Chamber oweth severall somes of money unto Orphanes and to several accomptes of Trustees for the poore for wch also their comon seale is given. All wch this Corporacon stands engaged to paye and for some of wch first menconed debts there are Judgments obtained and patents alreadie executed upon the lands of this Corporacon to the pjudice and dishonor thereof and whereas further there hath byn a Comittee appointed by an Acte of this house to survay and sett leases of the lands of this Citty wch are in hand and to fill upp estates to 3 or 4 lives for the better and more speedie discharge of the said debts. The Chamber doe by this psent Acte declare and order that the one halfe of all the money that hath byn or shalbe raised by such seales shalbe employed to and for the discharge of the debts due unto Orphanes or poore as aforesaid, and that every person or persons that shall buy or purchase any of the lands or Tenements of the said Corporacon, and shalbe allowed any some or somes due unto him or them by the Comon Seale as aforesaid shall paye and bring in a like some at least in readie monie into this Chamber or to the Treasurer by them appointed to receive such monye and to pay the debts to Orphanes and poor therewith and noe otherways to be employed untill they are paid, nor any conveyance or lease to bee sealed untill the obligacons by the Comons seale wth a receipt therèon bee delivered in and the monie dulia paid and discharged. And further that whereas those monies soe taken upp and employed in the publick service in the said seige of this Citty may hereafter by the favor & Justice of the Parliament uppon a right representation thereof made bee acknowledged a public debt and repaid wch is really intended effectually to bee endeavored wth all convenient speede that what shalbe soe recovered shalbee to and for the only use and benefitt of this Corporacon untill the said debts soe discharged bee repaide.

Mr. Clarke is the first to take advantage of the new Act—the Chamber are indebted to him, for his past services in Parliament, the sum of £300. He deducts this from a fine of £550, which he

is charged for the lease of some Tucking Mills in Exe Island, to be held on three lives. There is evidently some pressure exercised by the Governors of St. John's Hospital, for the arrears of interest due to them are ordered to be paid; but as to the principal they must be satisfied with the conveyance of the Bishop's Palace in discharge of a portion of the debt due to the charity. The Chamber had a comfortable idea as to the permanent effect of the revolution, for they are particular in stating that the Palace—in consideration of the sum of £400 owing—is to be the property of the Governors and their successors FOR EVER. It would be satisfactory to be assured that the charity recovered its £400, when ten years later a new state of things altogether ignored the transfer.

“28 Jan., 1651. Also a deed or writing purporting a bargain
“and sale dated the 25 of March last of the late Bishopp's Palace
“and other the appurtenances thereto belonging was this day
“sealed with the comon seale of this house. And by the
“Corporacon made over to the Governor of the Hospitall of
“St. John's wthin this Cittie and to their Successors for ever to
“the use of the said Hospitall for the some of fflower hundred
“pounds by the said Governo^r formerly paid.”

Shortly after the “State's Arms” are made and set up over Mr. Mayor's seat in the Guildhall; the fact of the Chamber then petitioning the “States” to return the money expended by the city during the troubles, having of course nothing to do with this act of homage to the ruling power.

In the spring of the year Cromwell resumed the campaign in Scotland against the Royal forces; these latter acting on the defensive and being secure in their position, there appeared to be no immediate prospect of bringing matters to a decisive issue.

The doubt and uncertainty that prevailed is apparent in the state of local affairs. At five successive meetings of the Chamber there were not sufficient members to transact business. In July, Roger Mallock and two other members with Royalist proclivities are dismissed, the guardhouses are ordered to be repaired immediately, the night watches doubled, and suspicious characters taken care of, for instance—

4 August, 1651. Mary Thorne sometime a servant to Thomas Bradshawe of this Cittie fulle deposeth upon her oath that about Xmas last shee heard John Hayne of the same Cittie fuller to say (the said Hayne then speaking of the Cavileers cominge into the Cittie againe) that Maior Saunders was a black-livered rogue and wondered with what face the brunefaced tode would looke them in the face when they should come in and said also that hee did thinke they would bee here within a twelvemonth.

To appear at next sessions and in mean time to be of good behaviour—

bail, ...	1 Surety in £40
	1 „ £20

The meaning of this is that Charles Stuart with his army is over the border and fast making his way to Worcester, where, we know, he met with that crushing defeat which Cromwell accepted as a “crowning mercy.”

The Royal army was thus finally disposed of, but there still remained a fleet in the channel under Prince Rupert, and privateers with royal letters of mark, who supplemented their services to Charles with a little private business amongst the merchant vessels. One such, called *The Grace*, of Aberdeen, a frigate, having a commission from the Duke of York, was wrecked at Seaton, and the captain the master and a corporal were brought before the Exeter magistrates; on examination it turned out that the ship was appointed to endeavour to bring over, and land the King somewhere on these western coasts, anticipating that he would receive a favorable reception and be successful in promoting a royalist rising. A special edict from the Council of State directed that these men should be detained here in gaol until further orders.

By the end of 1651 Scotland and Ireland had been brought under subjection, and all English territories acknowledged the Parliament of the Commonwealth. Mayor-choosing time came round again at Michaelmas, and the office of Chief Magistrate of Exeter was resumed by the appointment of Mr. Richard Sweete. His salary was raised to £200 for the year, “in regard of some present emergency and extraordinary charge incident to the mayoralty;” viz., the pressing necessity for relieving the Chamber of its embarrassments. A large committee was appointed to meet every Monday on this business only. A “fair

hatt" was purchased for the sword-bearer on the occasion, and the Chamber evince a desire to enter earnestly upon the business of the city. The New Inn, thanks to Mr. Fford, was leased on the most favorable terms, and the Treasurer's house in the Close secured for the purposes of a workhouse and a house of correction.

"6 June 1652. This day the contract was made betweene the Chamber and Mr. Henry Gandye for the fee and inheritance "of that one messuage in the Churchyard belonging to Peters Church called the Treasurer's house late pcell of the lands late the late Dean and Chapter of Exeter to be granted by the said Mr. Gandy to the Chamber for Hire of £140—the said house to bee converted for a workhouse for the poore of this cittye and also a house of correction for the vagrant and disorderly people within this cittye."

Trade is reviving, and, to encourage it, all foreigners' goods are forbidden to be dealt in,* the traffic in the streets becomes so great, that persons are accidentally "slaine," and injured by the carts and waggons on market days; and, except from the East-gate to the Little Conduit in South Street, all vehicles are prohibited between the hours of nine and four o'clock. Fires give such anxiety to the authorities, that an engine or 'spowte' is ordered to be "gotten down from London to quench fire," crooks for pulling down the wooden gables and ladders are amended, and in addition to the official sweep, whose services are retained at a cost of 20/- per annum, "4 July 1654. Mr. Prigge is entreated

*24 Nov. 1652. This act gave rise to a practical joke—a piece of levity which most assuredly would not be recognised by the authorities. Philip Edwards was one of the Inspectors appointed to seize foreign goods; active, perhaps over zealous, in the discharge of his duties, he was on the watch one evening, near the Shops of the London Merchants, at the New Inn. In one of the Stables of the Inn, a servant of Mr. Bolt, a London Merchant, with many cautions, took a mysterious box from the manger, and requested the ostler to carry it to the Cornish carrier, telling him it was directed for Tregony in Cornwall. Coming forth from the stable the ostler had to bear the brunt of some playful remarks, vouchsafed by sundry persons hanging about; amongst them Mr. David White, a Londoner, was conspicuous, he saying that the box was his, and there might be therein silk and silver lace of great value, and that the ostler must be wary of it. The Inspector making sure of a prize pounced upon the ostler, and seizing the box carried it off in triumph to the Guildhall, there to find that it contained nothing but horsedung.

For this offence, which could scarcely be said to be the ostler's, he was committed to the Sessions, and heavy bail required for his appearance.

“to write to a friend of his in London to gett downe an
 “able and fitt person for a chimney sweeper, to continue
 “here—he shall be paid £3 quarterly for honest and careful
 “services.”

It does not appear that Exeter was represented in the Long Parliament, or rather what remained of it, after the death of the King, but the city affairs were well attended to by Mr. Recorder Prideaux, who was subsequently Cromwell's Attorney General, and it is not unlikely that he was an eye-witness of that remarkable scene in the House of Commons, when Cromwell, in a voice of thunder, exclaimed to the astonished members, “We have
 “enough of this; I'll put an end to your prating. Begone! give
 “way to honester men,” and ordering the speaker's mace—“that bauble”—to be taken away called in his musqueteers and cleared the house. Nor does it appear that Exeter was a favored place, from which to summons a representative to take a seat in Cromwell's own particular Parliament—that Parliament, which was to inaugurate the reign of the saints on earth, under “Praise
 “God Barebones,” the leather merchant, and which confessed itself incompetent before it had been five months in existence, and so dissolved.

One act this short-lived Parliament passed, which proved to be of some service to Exeter; The act “for the speedy and effectual satisfaction of the Adventures for land (confiscated) in Ireland, and of arrears of Public debts.” The object of the act was to indemnify, by free grants of land in Ireland, those persons and Corporations who had advanced money in former years for the suppression of the rebellion in that country. A few days before the dissolution, the Chamber—having previously called upon all persons who had claims to make, to send particulars to the Guildhall—demanded from the Parliament the sum of £14,020 2s. 1d. lent on the public faith, by order and appointment of the deputy-lieutenants.

There is some obscurity about this claim, which it is difficult to clear up; it happens to be the precise amount expended by the Chamber, in the year 1642, for putting the city in a condition of defence, and had nothing to do with suppressing the rebels in Ireland.

It seems as though they had pitched upon this account as a matter of convenience, it having been certified by the deputy-lieutenants; unless, indeed, it is a separate claim, which, on its town merits, they hoped to get satisfied.

The monies for the rebellion in Ireland were lent to private persons, on the security of the city property; and although, at the death of Mr. Walter White, the Receiver, it was discovered that the security was worthless, the certificates not having been officially sealed, the Chamber, either voluntarily, or by compulsion accepted their responsibility, and then sealed certificates for some thousands of pounds. They also obtained an acknowledgment of the receipt of the gross sum, which was produced in June 1654.

19 June, 1654. The same day the receipt of a certificate of monies received by Mr. Walter White for Irish subscriptions was sealed with the common seal, as followeth :—

Guildhall, London, 25th, April, 1646.

Theis may certifie whome it may concerne that the Tres appointed for the Irish Subscriptions rec^d of Mr. Walter White of the Cittie of Exon Esq^r by the hands of severall persons before the 29th of April 1643 for severall subscriptions subscribed by severall persons in the Cittie of Exon the some of Fifteen thousand seven hundred twenty-eight pounds and tenn shillings as by the particular receipts in the hands of the said Walter White more plainly appeareth Witness our hands hereunto the day and yere first above written.

Jn^o Warner.

Tho^s Andrewes.

Exon—Wee the Maior Bayliffes and Comyualty of the City of Exon doe hereby acknowledge to have received of Walter Holditch of the same Cittie Marchant the originall writing or Certificate whereof the above-written is a true copy transcribed out of the same and agreeth therewith word for word. In testimony whereof we have hereunto sett the Comon Seale of this City of Exon the 27th June, 1654.

In the result Exeter was banded with twenty-four other claimants—residents in London—and, by the committee appointed for the purpose, which sat in Grocers' Hall, was allotted, as the combined share, a tract of land in Tipperary, valued at £9,890 10s. Mr. Nathaniel Manton of London, instructed by Mr. Sheriff Fford, acted on behalf of the Corporation of Exeter, but no

settlement could be come to, on account of the disputes about the division of the property, until the Lord Protector made an ordinance appointing certain Commissioners to settle differences. At length the proportion assigned to Exeter was 4,185 acres (English) of "Meadow, Arable, and profitable pasture," valued at £1,883 6s. 8d.; better than nothing, but a small return for the large sums expended.

The deed of ownership was enrolled in the Court of Chancery on the 21st March, 1655, but probably the Chamber looked upon their acquisition at first, as somewhat in the light of a white elephant. The property of all the adventurers together only produced £60 a year, and the difficulty of collecting rents from a number of small Irish tenants was not less in those days than now. But the agents sent over by Mr. Manton very soon put a different complexion upon the state of affairs; after troubles of no ordinary nature, as may be easily conceived, they at last succeeded in raising the rental of the whole to £1,075. Mr. Manton, in an interesting letter to our Sheriff, says "its well done." "I send you an account of the charges that I have and shall within 10 days disburse for you, which I hope will bee all the seed of this kinde you are to sow; yo^r next will bee harvest work viz^t to receive the Cropp (or rent) of yo^r charges disbursed. Nothing cann bee objected to in yo^r acct it beeing what is and must really bee paid, and soe agreed at a full meeting of y^e interesteds: the only thing may bee aleaged against is the last 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ p^r cent for Mr. Roberts and Webster's charges, we^h (I supose) cannot rationally bee urged, if you consider what service they have donne, and the charges they have been at, besides y^e danger; another such jorney & troble they proffess they would not undertake for £500 sterling."

The bill, in these days, will not be considered a heavy one, and the charges, for moderation, might offer an example, which it is feared would not be accepted by the legal profession of the present day. The total amount is £75 15s. 9d., and amongst the items there is a curious entry—"paid y^e Committee of y^e body of Advent^r 1884 halfe pence £3 18s. 6d."

At an early stage of the negotiations Mr. Manton's services were handsomely recognised.

"25 July, 1654. This day it is agreed and ordered that the "some of £25 shall be disbursed for the buying of two silver "flaggons to bee presented to Mr. Nathaniel Mannton, of London, "as a free gifte of this Chamber, with the Cittie's Armes sett "thereon, for and in respect of the great care and paynes hee "hath lately taken about the purchasing of Irish lands for the "use and benefitt of this Chamber and the settlement thereof, "and Mr. Sheriff Fford is desired to write to his brother in "London for the buying of those flagons."

The city authorities did not wait for the harvest or rent; long before Mr. Manton's final account came in, they had made up their minds, with wise discretion, to sell the property, and their agent, Mr. Samuel Jones merchant of London, was already on the ground, surveying and preparing for the sale before the agents for the allottees were off it. The estate was sold for £1,500—a good windfall for the heavily burdened city, and all that was ever received in discharge of the claim of £14,020.

5 Feb., 1656. An order for the City's land in Ireland to be sold or set out.

11 March, 1656. A small Committee ordered to treat & conclude a sale with Mr. Valentyne Greatrakes.

19 March, 1656. This day the conveyance & purchase deeds of inheritance for sale of the Chamber's lands to Sir Ames Ameredeth, Bart., Col. Hierom Sankey, of Clonmell, in Ireland, and Valentyne Greatrakes, of Cornworthy, Devon, Esq., lying in the Barony of Midlothire, in the County of Tipperary, in the Province of Munster, was sealed with the Common Seale of this Corporation, consisting of 4,185 acres, 29 poles of meadow, arable land and profitable pasture, English measure, which being deducted into Irish measure is 2,583a. 2r. 32p., with all the woods, &c., for the consideration of £1,500—secured to be paid with the interest thereof as followeth. The deed bears date the 18th March, 1655.

The bond entered into by Sir A. Ameredeth and the others in £3,000 for payment of £1,590, the 20 March, 1659.

The same bound for payment of £90	.	.	20 March, 1656.
90	.	.	" 1657.
90	.	.	" 1658.

In connexion with these outlays for the public service it may be mentioned that there is in the *Record Office*, in London, a petition from a widow of Exeter, for satisfaction in respect of sacrifices made by her husband during the civil war.

TO HIS HIGHNES THE LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, &c.

The humble petition of Sarah Clarke, the wife of Samuel Clarke, of the City of Exon, merchant, deceased, Sheweth—

That your petitioners husband: at the Earnest Importunity of the cumissioners: Authorised by Parliament: ffor the raysinge of moneys: ffor the defence of the County of Devon & City of Exon; in the yeare: 1643: did [when all others refusd] Ingage him selfe: beyond the seas & ffurnished: & supplied: the then urgent wants: & necessities: of those parts: with Armes Amunition & provision: to the vallue of: £4213 1s. 11d. as under the treasurers hand of the sayd County is Acknowledg: Imediately where-upon ffollowed the overthrow of the Parliaments fforges at Stratton: in Cornewall: whereby the Comisioners were disinabled to make your petitioners husband satisfaction Accordinge to their Agreement: all beinge then in a very lowe Condition: for the preservation of this City & nation the west stood it out to the last: and to Encourage the Soldiers: in the hard service & difficult worke: they were payd out of the provision of Corne: above sayd: but after all: beinge not able to stand it out any Longer: did resigne the City into the hand of the Enemy: who not-with-standing the Articles of Agreement: did seaze upon all that they Could make discovery of: upon Stricht Enquiry; that did belonge to your Petitioners husband: & did pursue him: even to his Life: which they swore they would have: & Layd waite for the Accomplishment thereof: only ffor his Extrordinary Activity & Ingagement in that publicke worke: which hath occasioned the ruine of your petitioners ffamily: upon the Losse of the City: your petitioners husband: made Application to the Parliament [when of him selfe (*petition here torn*) after a Member] who then ordered him £2,000 as part of satisfaccion: Since your petitioners husband decease your petitioner hath waited heere thes—3 years: ffor to gett some supply: for her selfe and children [*petition torn*] could gett none: this beinge the second petition which hath been presented unto your Highnes: which your petitioner hopes through divine direction: and your Highnes Wisedome: shall not be successless: Extreamity and necessity not admitting of ffurther delay: your petitioners husband ffor satisfaction & discharge of his fforainge Ingagements: ffor the sayd Armes, Amunition & provision: was fforsed to ruine that Costly course of drawinge the moneys too & ffro ye Exchange: beeinge unavoydably necesitated there unto which hath much Augmented the first Sume: which the parliament beeing well informed of did promise answerable satisfaction.

May it therefore please your Highnes to take this sad condition into Serious Consideration: and to order some speedy Reliefe, & Satisfaction as your Highnes Wisdom: shall see fitt:

And your petitioner shall pray, &c.

SARAH CLARKE.

May your Highnes please to Consider of some of the Losses: & disbursements: of your petitioners husband ffor the Publicke.

The first sune was: four thousand: two hundred: thirteen pounds: one shilling & Eleven pence.

Upon the publick faith: one hundred pounds.

Seazed upon in Goods: by the Enimy }
in Dartmouth } five hundred pounds.

A Shipe Loden with Goods: seazed } Your petitioner cannot give your
upon by the Enimy: upon their } Highnes a particular Account: but
arrival at [*torn*] harbour [*torn*] Exon } it was a Considerable Sume.

[*Petition torn*]

About five hundred pounds.

The sune due unto your Highnes petitioner is too thousand five hundred pounds which properly belongs: unto the first sune of ffour thousand too hundred: thirteene pounds: one shilling & eleven pence: Without relatinge unto any other sune heere Mentioned.

12 March, 1656.

SARAH CLARKE.

There is no endorsement upon the petition, nor any further papers shewing how the petition was received, and whether the prayer was granted.

The petitioner's husband represented Exeter in the long Parliament, but whether or not he was one of those who voted in favor of the indictment against the King is not shown; his name appears once only, after the death of Charles, as being in his place at the Guildhall, and in August, 1649 "Mr. Saml. Clarke's account for his charge as a burgesse in Parliament from "28 January, 1646, to September 26, 1647 is allowed." So that it would rather appear that at the latter date he ceased to attend the House of Commons. From the petition we gather that he died in 1653:

Four days after the dissolution of the "Barebones Parliament," the proceedings of which had excited general uneasiness, Cromwell assumed the title of Protector of the Commonwealth, and from this time was virtually supreme ruler in England. The Parliament which he summoned in the following year, and which gave promise of a settled Government, frittered away its time in disputing the position of the Protector, and in frustrating his aims for a peaceable solution of affairs, so that in words of angry reproach he dissolved it. With the dissolution of the Parliament of 1654 ended all show of legal rule; henceforward all ordinances and laws were Cromwell's own, and the Protectorate became simply a despotism. Many of the acts of his reign were wise and good, and it may be that, for the time, the despotic rule of a wise man was the best Government for the people.

It was due to the energy of Cromwell that the settlement of the Irish estates was effected so promptly, and the vigour and order of his rule is somewhat reflected in the action of the local Chamber. They apply for another allotment of land in respect of the sacrifices the city had made, but without success, and there is no chance of further relief in any shape. The Sessions are now to be held monthly, as the regulation of the morals of the people by Act of Parliament entails upon the Justices much time and attention.

"13 June, 1654. There bee no Trialls (except upon extraordinary occasions) but once a month, and that Munday bee sett a parte wholly for that buisnes, and that the Courte begyun at 8 o'clocke without a breakfaste, and that the Sergiants have strict orders to summon men of the best rancke of the Cittie for Jurors (none excepted under the degree of the Receiver), and that those that faile bee soundlye ffyned and the ffynes duely levied without partiality. And that the Justices bee desired for the better countenancing of the Courte to bee then present in their gownes.

"2. That the other three Mundayes of the month the Constables may have their dynner or breakfast provided att or before 11 of the Clocke and when the Officers are att Courte the Courte may be called and adjourned as soone as possible, wch done the Sword to bee carried home and the Officers to bee dismissed, and that about 12 the Justices bee desired to bee present that the Maior and they may spend as much time as is requisite for dispatching of matters of Justice, wch being ended that the Maior spend the rest of the day att the Committee to dispatch the buisnes of the Chamber."

The sword-bearer gives considerable trouble with regard to his hat; he will persist in airing it before the eyes of the public at times when he is not on official duty, the consequence being that the symbol of his office, is not held in such respect as if it were shown only upon rare occasions, and moreover, that it requires more frequent renewal. After many warnings it is at last decided that the fair beaver hat is to be worn only at such times, "especially when he goes before Mr. Maior," and it is to be left at Mr. Maior's when "he puts it off."

Amongst the measures for carrying out a vigorous policy at this time, we find that a cage and stocks are set up in Exe Island, a cage in St. Sidwells, and the cart for whipping offenders is to be repaired. Begging was so heinous an offence that one Joan Gillard, being found in the act, was kicked and beaten to death by the Beadle; and John Wilkins was committed to the Sessions for refusing to assist the constables in ducking one Crocker's wife. Could this be the wife of the Mayor knighted by Charles the first? It is not unlikely, for Sir Hugh Crocker appears to have been in difficulties, and the most persecuted man in the city, though not without his friends.

12 July, 1653. Humphrey White on hearing that the bailiffs were in Mr. Hugh Crocker's house, went in at the back door, and was attacked by Mr. Andrew, a bailiff, with a sword and pistol and wounded in the arm. He also attacked and dangerously wounded another bystander, and finding matters getting rather hot for him fled and left his sword behind him.

On the other hand, at the new Workhouse in St. Peter's Yard, provision is to be made for teaching work to, and educating, ten poor maids until they can be bound apprentices. Joan Hernaman was chosen the schoolmistress, at a salary of £20 a year for herself, and a servant under her. A common brewhouse is erected for the benefit of the poor, and £200 to be spent in apparelling St. John's Hospital boys. The Hospital itself has to be enlarged, owing to the increased demands upon it, and the Chamber raise £2000 on the City property, to pay back part of the debt owing, for this purpose.

In March, 1654, Mr. Edwd. Prideaux, Recorder of Exeter, is made Attorney General by the Lord Protector, and Thomas Bampffield elected to the vacant office. At the same time Mr. Ferdinando Nicholls is appointed Bodleian lecturer—this year at the Church of Mary Arches—and Mr. Richard Crossing no longer objects to be Mayor, and is chosen for that office. Mr. Westlake, the Town Clerk, finding the work getting rather too much for him, expresses a wish to resign his situation, but is requested to consider the matter further, and nothing more is heard of it. The registries of births, marriages, and deaths having up to this time

been much neglected and irregularly kept, they are ordered to be seen to by the various parishes, and all outlying parishes are to be united to Mary Major's.

The records of the Criminal Courts show how the new tyranny affected the social liberties of the people in ever increasing restrictions. Vagrants are whipped at the ring; it is unlawful to eat anything but cold meat on the Lord's day, and very numerous are the convictions for baking provisions, for roasting and dressing meat, for even heating the oven. George Manning and Hugh Frye are presented for being in Manning's house last sabbath day, and eating a roasted pig together; Phillip Blake, his wife, and his wife's sister, for walking in the fields on the Lord's day; and a boy is convicted of watering a horse in sermon time, and fined five shillings. Drunkards were dealt with in a very summary manner,—one David Hilman was taken inebriated at ten o'clock at night, to the Mayor's house, and then and there requested to pay 5s.; "Mrs. Maioress" sought to improve the occasion by administering a little wholesome advice, but the reprobate declared that he did not care a "figge" for any of them, saying "who are you? you be hanged." This was a case for severe punishment, and he was at once taken off to prison. That a system of "espionage" prevailed, we learn from the case of Dr. Morris and Dr. Bidgood who were watched as they entered a tavern, and a witness who followed them, going to the room adjoining the one they occupied, the partition wall being a thin one, heard them indulging in the luxury of swearing, exactly twenty-five oaths from each being counted.

Travelling on the Lord's day is a serious offence, and the cases are numerous—one man being at once taken before a Justice and put in the stocks. A barber is brought up "for tryming a man on "the Lord's day about tenn o'clocke in the forenoone in sermon "time."

Offences which need not be named were plentiful and visited with condign punishment, but what harm there is in "regrating," it is difficult to see; Mr. Lovell, however, was fined 10s. and sent to prison for two months for buying a sack of wheat and selling it again by the bushel at a small profit. And what joy in the little Puritan breast, when the authorities unearthed the Turveydrop of

the period, in the person of Mr. Malbye, who ventured to teach deportment and dancing, and was ordered forthwith to depart out of the city! Expressions of contempt for the higher powers sometimes broke forth; thus Mr. Pooke suffered for saying his highness, the Lord Protector, was a "barrel-bearer." Another man, for saying that two constables were "overflowen with beer, as busy men as any, and foxes," was committed for trial; as also another for speaking "unfitting words of the Maior." But Mr. John Gregory entailed upon himself a heavy penalty through the misfortune of being a wit and a poet:—

"18th April, 1655. John Gregory speaking in terms of commendation of Ben Jonson and other poets, repeating some of their verses and then some of his own, discovered to his listener that he was the author of a 'pamphlet or paper of verses, intituled the Commonwealth's irreparable losse in the untimely departure of the Lady Grenvill's well affected munckey, undoubtedly poysoned by the Cavaliers, for which the Saints are advised to bee thoroughly humbled.' He was fined 100 marks." There is one conviction under the Act of the "Barebones Parliament" for the establishment of civil Marriages. "Richard Longe, clerk, committed for marrying Zachary Saunders and William Dyer's daughter, Mary."

The soldier saints conceived it to be a part of their duty to spy out all offences against morality, and the peace of their Sovereign Lord Protector Cromwell, and their evidence is always accepted as conclusive. If they confined their attention to such cases as the following, instead of ferreting out and exposing trumpery peccadilloes scarcely worth notice, they would not have been quite so unpopular.

"3 March, 1654. A Soldier in Col. Scroope's regiment, (Governor of Bristol,) reports a man for saying that Capts. Beale and Bishop had received shameful disgrace before the Mayor in the matter of searching Mr. Blackwell's house for 100 arms, and for saying that the Captains declared they would cut the Lord Protector's throat."

It is discovered that the Lord's day is not yet observed with sufficient strictness, and another turn of the screw is inflicted upon the bakers.

“7 Jan., 1656. Ordered that publique notice be given by the
 “Belman that henceforward noe Baker within this Cittie or
 “County doe presume to sett their household bread into their
 “ovens on Saturday night as formerly they have done, and draw
 “the same out againe about 5 of the Clock next morning being
 “the Saboth day, but that they sett in and drawe out the bread
 “before tenn of the Clocke Saterday at night.”

But the climax is reached in the following cheerful manifesto :

“7 Jan., 1656. All who have the care or education of children
 “and servants under 14 years of age, must not permit them on
 “the Lord's day to use or exercise any sport, pleasure, or pas-
 “time, or be present at the same. All persons above 14 for such
 “offence to forfeit 5s., and parents and guardians of those under
 “14 to be fined 1s., or in default put in the Stocks for 3 hours.”

Complaints are made that children have been seen playing in
 the Churchyard of the “late” Cathedral on the Lord's day, and
 a reward is offered to informers. Not long after, the juvenile
 mind must have been considerably impressed with the following
 —“(6 April, 1658).—A cage to be made and set up about the
 “middle part of St. Peter's Churchyard for the putting of such
 “boys and others in, as shall disturb the Ministers in sermon
 “time.”

With a strong Government trade would naturally revive, and
 that it had improved in our city may be inferred incidentally from
 strikes amongst the shoemakers and fullers, the former agreeing
 “not to work unless they got 1d. extraordinary on making shoes,
 “and 2d. on making boots,” and the latter agreeing not to take less
 than 4s. a week wages. But they were reckoning without their
 host ; such a liberal institution as a trades-union could not for a
 moment be countenanced, and that they found out, at an expense
 of £10 each, and in the case of the fullers, twenty days
 imprisonment. A little glimpse of the times is afforded us in the
 case where a man has the charge of seventeen pack-horses, laden
 with goods for Barnstaple, meeting a return team on Cowley
 bridge, then very narrow ; neither would give way, and a free
 fight ensued in which men, women, dogs and horses engaged
 promiscuously.

The terrible repressive measures of the governing power, depriving the people of all liberty, naturally excited general discontent, and there were risings in Dorset, in Wales, and in our own County, in which latter John Penruddock and others were concerned. Charles 2nd was proclaimed King at Southmolton, but there was but little response from the people, and the rising proved to be abortive. Some of those concerned were apprehended, and brought to the High Gaol, at Exeter, and the sympathy felt for them was shewn by the manner in which they were entertained and visited by the citizens and county gentry during their confinement. Penruddock and two others were condemned to death, and suffered the extreme penalty on Heavtree gallows tree; the great efforts made to spare their lives after their condemnation having failed. They have left on record an affecting but manly letter, written by themselves to the judge, asking for his intercession with the Lord Protector on the ground of mercy and Christian charity, but Cromwell was inexorable. That the public mind was excited at this event, may be gathered from the case which cropped up some months after, when the feelings it excited might be supposed to have been somewhat allayed.

16 June, 1656. Christobell Towill speaking of the Lord Protector about 3 months since, on her way from Newton market, said, if he came to this City she would cut his throat, because he was the cause of them that were beheaded.

But the overwhelming strength of the army easily repressed such attempts at revolt, and they had only the effect of increasing the rigour of the Government.

The country was divided into ten military Governments, each with a Major General at its head; General Desborow being appointed to command the western district, including Devon and Cornwall. The funds for the support of this military despotism were derived from fines of one-tenth part of their income, inflicted upon all who had Royalist tendencies; and the Episcopalian Clergy, who had been zealous in promoting the insurrection, were prohibited from acting as ministers or tutors. The result was the spectacle of Presbyterians, Independents, and even Baptists occupying the church livings, enjoying the temporalities, and acting according to their own principles.

The break down of Episcopacy and the failure of the system of Presbyterianism to take its place gave rise to much confusion in church matters. The ministers in Exeter had probably been appointed from without, through the action of Cromwell's Board of Triers, or the County Church Board. In 1655 the Chamber petition for an augmentation of ministers' money, but afterwards they keep the matter in their own hands by levying a rate for the support of the ministers, and making their own presentations.

"3 June, 1656. Mr. R^d Crossing and others are desired and appointed by this house to joyne with the ministers within this Cittie for the procuring and obtayning of a Godlye and able minister for a supplye within the said Cittye."

"20 June, 1656. The Committee are desired to take into consideration the righting upp and fitting of some of the Churches within this Cittie to bee used for preaching Ministers, and the erecting of some roomes over the Chapter House is also referred to the same Committee, as likewise the transferring of the Library at St. John's Hospital to the Chapter House if it shalbe thought most convenient."

The ministers' rate was a very unpopular tax, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in collecting it. In order to lessen the burden and to provide for other expenses, the idea was originated of reducing the number of churches to the minimum requirement, and disposing of those not thought to be necessary. An act of Parliament authorising this was passed during the session of 1656, and the preliminary step taken on "11 August, 1657. Ordered that the churchwardens respectively of Trinity, Mary Steps, Allhallow's-on-the-Walls, John's Bow, Olave's, Kirrian's, Pancras, George's, Paul's, Allhallow's Goldsmith Street, Lawrence, Stephen's and Martin's, and every of them are demanded that within fower dayes after notice of this order to them to bee given they bring in to the R^t Worshipful the Maior of this Cittie a true particular in writinge of all the bells, goods, utensills, & implements whatsoever to the said respective churches belonging and appertayning. And also to give upp to the said Maior the possessions of the said respective churches by the delivery of the severall keyes of the dores of the same to

“them, that order may bee further had and taken in the premisses
 “according to and in performance of an act of this present
 “Parliament intituled an act for the promoting and more frequent
 “preaching of the Gospell & maintenance of ministers in this
 “Cittie of Exeter and uniting of parishes and parish Churches.”

On the same day the following presentations were made to the only churches intended to be used for divine service.

Mr. Ferdinand Nicholls to St. Mary Arches Church.

„ Thomas Downe . . . St. Edmunds

„ Marke Downe . . . St. Petrockes.

„ John Bartlett . . . St. Mary the Moor.

Also agreed that the Chamber have thought it fitt that a seventh Minister be added and the endeavour of the Ministers are desired to procure an able godly man to assist the severall Ministers att Sacraments in the forenoon on the respective days of administracon thereof and every other the Lords day to assist Mr. Thomas Downe att Edmunds in the morning in case of absencę or sickness and in the afternoone to bestowe his labour where hee shalbe appointed by the Chamber.

Mr. Nicholls appears to have given offence in some quarters, as there are two cases, in which he is concerned, brought before the Magistrates.

“6 January, 1654. Israel Tranch spoke of ‘Bishop’ Nicholls in
 “a scoffing and jeering manner. Said that he would make him
 “as mute as Mr. Lowe had done, and as much ashamed as when
 “he left his sermon notes behind him.”

“11 August, 1656. Mary Thorne, of St. Thomas, said of Mr.
 “Nicholls, minister, that he was a false prophet, that he did teach
 “for lucre, and that she would be one of those to bear witness
 “against him at the day of judgement—committed with hard
 “labour.”

The act before referred to was passed during the session of Parliament commenced in September 1656, and was entitled “an act for the promoting and more frequent preaching of the “gospel and maintenance of ministers in the city of Exeter, and “uniting of parishes and parish churches in the said city.” The objects contemplated by the Chamber were, to enlarge the parishes, to reduce the number of churches, and to improve those retained for service. It was found that the congregations of the smaller parish churches were so scanty, that room could

easily be found for them in the adjoining parish church, and so the cost of maintaining the ministers of the closed churches would be saved, and the ministers' rate thereby reduced. The uniting of the parishes was a measure to which there could be no objection—and indeed it is one which might be adopted with advantage in our own day—but the manner, in which it was intended that the disused churches should be disposed of, excited the most lively feelings of dissatisfaction. They were to be sold without any conditions, and the money they realized was to have been paid to the Chamber, in satisfaction of an outlay about to be incurred on a work which was not included in the act of Parliament.

The two predominant religious parties in the community were the Presbyterians and the Independents, the former represented by the Corporation, and the latter by the soldiers. Both parties aspired to hold their services in the Cathedral—"Peter's church," as they called it,—but inasmuch as singing formed a leading feature in the services of the one, which was a practice abhorred by the other, and as both desired to assemble for worship at the same hours, it follows that there would be considerable difficulty in carrying on the services with propriety. Matters at length reached such a pass, even, it is said, to the extent of disputes and collisions in the building, between the two sects, that the Chamber, not perhaps without considerable pressure, in August, 1657, decided to divide the Cathedral into two parts, by erecting a wall across the west end of the choir, where the organ stood, upon a foundation which already existed. The side aisles were also to be closed, and a wall erected, dividing the south tower into two passages, east and west; the latter to give access to the belfry. The two churches were named Peter the East, and Peter the West; the former to be set apart for the Independents, and the latter for the Presbyterians. Access to the eastern church was to have been obtained by removing the window in St. Andrew's Chapel—the treasury, as it was called in consequence of the room over it being used as a store room for the Cathedral records—and a door substituted in place thereof. This work however was never accomplished; whether it was that the authorities scrupled to destroy a beautiful window, or that the Restoration came upon them so quickly that

they could not carry out their designs—and this latter theory is not improbable, as the records show that the alterations were not completed in January, 1660—certain it is that no opening has been made since the window was first placed in its present position. An entrance to that part of the Cathedral has been obtained, at some time or other, by breaking through the end wall of the Speke Chapel. In the course of the restoration of the Cathedral, now happily approaching completion, the work has been laid bare, and although in a very rough sort of way, it was done with as little mischief as possible under the circumstances. It may be that this entrance was made, at the time we are speaking of, for the accommodation of the Independents, and if so, it evinces some tenderness on the part of the authorities in dealing with the grand old building, by their choosing the least of two evils and keeping their work well out of sight.

11 August, 1657. Who doe alsoe agree that the partition of the Cathedrall Church of S. Peter's bee made with a brick wall on the East part of the Crosse Ile where the Organs stood closeing upp the bodye or midle Ile uppon a foundaçon wch is already there and filling upp the place where the dores stand in the Ile sides leading to the Quire and that the South Tower be divided by a wall of foote high and a passage made from the East Church through a Chappell there into the Belfry. And whereas Mr. Walter Deeble hath undertaken to make this partition wall for £150, well and sufficiently with brick and plaistering. Further agreed that John Pare that keepes the seates in the Church and nowe dwells in the Treasury roomes shalbe removed thence, and that Ralph Cooze be likewise removed out of his house adjoining to the Workehouse and Peter Leelye to live therein, for that the said Leelye's roomes is to bee pulled down for an Avenue to bee made to passe into the greate Church. Also agreed that an Avenue bee made through the Garden Hall and outrooms of the late Treasurer's house unto that parte of the great Church wh sometime was the Treasurye, and the window thereof to bee taken downe and a dore there made to passe into the Easterne pte of the said Church and that another Avenue to come into the same dore bee made close to the North parte of the North Tower into the said garden through certaine roomes nowe in the possession of the said Peter Seelye—£800 to be raised for these alterations.

Mr. Robert Atkins presented to Peter the East.

11 Aug., 1657. Agreed that Mr. Thomas Ford, Minister, doe carry on the Wednesdaye's Lecture in West Peters as hitherto hee hath done and that hee doe assist the other Ministers as hee finds strength and opportunity, wch is lefte to his owne free will, and that hee shall have & enjoye the maintenance which formerly hee had.

In connexion with the alterations, we find that the wainscot in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost was ordered to be taken down and made use of, and it was on "16 Jan., 1658. Ordered that the "late Bishop's seat and side walls in the inner Choir of St. Peter's "Church East be removed for better carrying on & perfecting "that work."

Mr. Ford was the minister of West Peter on the appointment of the Chamber, but Cromwell desired to have the presentation of the East Church himself, and endeavoured to make it the condition of his assenting to the Act of Parliament, but the Chamber were firm and declined to give it up, at once nominating Mr. Robert Atkins to the post.

"2 Dec., 1656. Upon reading a letter from Mr. Town Clerk, "in London, touching the uniting of several parish Churches "wthn this Citty to the late Cathedrall Church of Peters, to be "called Peter the East, & for an addition thereunto to bee made, "viz^t that his highness the Lord Protector may have the presenta- "tion thereof. Resolved to adhere to a former resolution."

"16 Dec. That the agreement with Mr. Lewis Stewklye, "touching the uniting of several parish Churches to Peters East " & Peters West, shall be drawn up & a Bill presented in Parlia- "ment for its furtherance, if necessary."

The ministers must have had an uncomfortable time of it, as the services were frequently interrupted by fanatics; at one time a quaker, during the sermon, boldly rises from his seat and challenges Mr. Ford's doctrine, "speaking up" to him; at another, one Mrs. Seares, who "stopped the sermon," was taken up in the arms of a constable and carried off to the cells; and Mr. Atkins was hindered in his administration of the Sacrament of Baptism by Mrs. Payne, of Weymouth, who stood on the bench, and shouted, "Woe! woe! woe! which brother?" one of the sect known as the fifth-monarchy men utters a charitable prayer, that the Lord will destroy those that are now chosen out of all cities towns and counties, as well as the militia that is now raising; and the keeper of Southgate prison, having "no music in his soul," contemptuously puts on his hat during the psalm singing.*

* 19 April, 1660. One Strange is committed for praying loudly after this manner:—"The Lord destroy those that are nowe chosen out of all citties, and

One is naturally curious to know what became of those to whom the services, as now conducted in the Churches, would be exceedingly distasteful,—the old orthodox and high churchmen. Did they, like the persecuted of old, retire to the rocks and caves, and there conduct their worship after their own desires? It is evident that they dared not assemble publicly, and we have some little clue to the course they sometimes adopted.

There are several cases before the magistrates for travelling from Topsham to the Castle Inn, Exeter, for the purpose of attending some religious service, and one, who from conscientious motives refused to pay the fine inflicted, was set in the stocks; and there is the case of John Blackmore, an inn-holder, whose house having been suspected by the constables is burst open, and in a room many persons of quality, both male and female, are discovered in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper and immediately dispersed.

As we have just done with the Cathedral, it is an easy transition to the subject of the Cloisters.

15 Jau., 1656. The Chamber did think fit and doe fully agree to purchase from Mr. Embrey the Cloisters with such structures and waste ground and other appurtenances as is incident thereunto adjoyning St. Peter's Church for the most reasonablest value it may bee had. And Mr. Snowe and Mr. Ford are desired and appointed to procure the purchase thereof as speedily as they may.

29 Jan., 1656. £1600 raised for the purchase & the conveyance ordered to be made at once.

To the Puritan mind, they would, of course, appear as an utterly useless adjunct to the church, and it would be throwing away a fair opportunity if they did not turn them to the best account. Some years previously they had been sold to one Mr. Embrey, who seems to have speculated in the spoils of the church, and was now realizing his profits whilst there was yet time to do so.

The staple trade of Exeter, that of serge-making, had grown so

townes, and counties, Lord let them be destroyed in the bud for they are enymies to Kinge Jesus, or if they come togeather, Lord let their hartes dye within them as Navalls, Lord destroy the militia that is nowe raising; wee have seen Kings, and Pariaments, and Militias destroyed for that they have byn against Kinge Jesus." Refused to find bail, and also refused to take the oath of abjuration, so was sent to prison.

much that a new market became necessary; the old one in Southgate Street moreover being inconvenient on account of its being exposed to the rain and storms. Negotiations are opened with Mr. Embrey for the purchase of the Cloisters, wherein the new serge-market house is to be built, and there is the money from the Irish land to pay for them; but a larger sum than this is needed, for Mr. Embrey desires to be rid of a little more of the same sort of property, and there is some delay in coming to a settlement. At last on "14 Oct. 1656, a receipt of Mr. Embrey's "was brought to the Chamber for £2,230 for the purchase of the "Cloysters, the priviledges of Peter's Churchyard, and Arch-deacon Cotton's house." This latter is the house near the Institution, with the coat of arms still preserved over the outer doorway.

To clear the ground, that objectionable popish instrument "the organs," which had been removed from the Cathedral and stowed away in the Cloisters, is ordered to be disposed of, or melted down with the brass half-crowns seized in Mr. Snowe's mayoralty, and the tombstones are to be given up to parties concerned, claiming them before "our Lady day" next. A few months afterwards a petition is sent to Parliament to appoint the serge-market to be held in the Cloisters, and on 30th Oct. 1657, it is publicly opened and a proclamation read. This document is laboured and drawn up in somewhat of an apologetic tone, as though some opposition and disturbance were apprehended.

"30 Oct., 1657. The serge-market hitherto in Southgate St. "being inconvenient on account of its being open to the rain and "storms, and causing a stoppage in the street, is removed to the "Cloisters, where new Buildings have been erected at great "expense—and Southgate St. market to be used as a fish-market "instead of High St., as formerly."

The corn-market was also removed to St. Peter's yard for the better accommodation of the country people.

Returning to the subject of the support of the ministers, the authorities had the greatest trouble in raising sufficient to meet their requirements—and they were not excessive, Mr. Tickell's

remuneration being £100 a year, and a house to live in, and Mr. Bartlett's the same. But the rate was a very unpopular one, and it was strenuously resisted by several who complained publicly of the heavy burden. "March 1658. Matthew Purkis, an Anabaptist, feeling sore at the ministers' rates, gives vent to his feelings by "saying that they were thieves, robbers, deluders of the people, "ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, that within seven years "there would come a fight, that the ministers should be "confounded, and the blood in the slaughter would be as high as "the horse-bridle, and they (meaning the Anabaptists) should "reign in Christ." It is a vexed question, which the members of the Corporation seem inclined to shirk, for it is necessary to impose a fine of 10s. on absentees, in order to bring together the Committee appointed to legislate upon it, and on one occasion they personally subscribe the sum required.

The sale of the surplus churches would be a relief, indirectly, to the ministers' rate, and the money realized was intended to pay for the alterations in the Cathedral.

Three days before the serge-market was formally dedicated to the use of the public, the Corporation passed an order for the disposal of the doomed churches.

27 Oct., 1657. Whereas by an Act of Parliament made att the Parliament begun and held at Westm^r the xvii day of September, 1656, intituled an act for the promoting and more frequent preaching of the Gospell and maintenance of ministers in the Citty of Exeter, and uniting of parishes and parish Churches within the said Citty of Exeter. It was enacted that the severall churches within the said Citty wh were united to other churches should bee and were vested in the Mayor, &c., & their successors, for, and towards, the enlargement newe building and reparacon of the Churches in the bill menconed to wch other Churches are united, which Churches so vested are yet undisposed of And so that a present supply of monyes to the sum of £800, att the least, is needed for the carrying on of the worke according to the tenor of the said acte. It is therefore ordered tnat the sum of £800 be borrowed and taken upp upon the Security of the Seale of this Chamber for one yeere, soe that in the mean tyme disposition or sale bee or shalbe made of the said Churches soe vested in the said Maior, Bayliffs, and Canonalty, as aforesaid, to reimburse the said £800, or that the same sum in the meantime shalbe otherwise raised and paid by vertue of a rate or tax according to the tenor of the said acte in that behalf ordayned.

The intent being that the Churches shall be given as security for the payment of the £800 required to be raised.

But there is some spirit still left in the people, and they will not tamely stand by and see their churches desecrated, their holy places given up to the traffickers for gain, and themselves forced to contribute towards the support of ministers, in whom they had no confidence.

The fifth of November, happening a few days after, afforded the opportunity for expressing the general discontent in an unmistakeable manner. There was a terrible riot, the mob obtaining complete possession of the city; all the bells were set ringing, fire-balls thrown about caused several conflagrations, and the constables in a body were completely routed and driven from St. David's Hill to the Conduit. The soldiers, of course, after a time put a stop to the rioting, but for several nights no one was allowed to appear in the streets, under pain of being locked up. Even the authorities themselves doubt the legality of their own act, for a fortnight afterwards the whole question is to be re-considered.

17 Nov., 1657. Ordered that Mr. Maior & Justices, Mr. Broking, and all the members of the Chamber that will attend it, bee a Committee, and any 3, 5, or more of them bee of the quor., to meete at Mr. Maior's house on Thursday next and soe de die in diem to consider of all wayes and meanes howe the Act for union of Churches may bee improved for the publicke advantage, howe soe many Ministers may be procured, and soe many Churches may bee opened for them as the Bill will beare, howe the possession of the useless Churches may be gotten into the Chamber's hands and disposed for the people's advantage and for the Chamber's indemnitie and the re-imbursement of the £800 wch the Chamber hath given their seales for to carry on the present worke, and this Committee is desired to send for some of the ablest inhabitants of Sidwell's to trye what they will contribute towards an able Minister to be constant in their parish, that soe our Ministers may procure and commend such a one to the Chamber, and they may seeke for an augmentation to complete his maintenance. And when these or any of these, or any other thing conducing thereunto is brought to perfection, this Committee is desired to send for the Reverend Ministers and to communicate the same unto them, and to give them a copy of this order and tyme seriouslye to consider thereof and soe to bring the result of their consultations backe to the Committee that soe when the Committee and Ministers have agreed uppon anything the same may bee brought to the Chamber to debate and conclude thereuppon as they shall think best for the publique good.

24 March, 1657. Possession of Stephen's Church to be given up and enquiry made as to what use is being made of the Cellars underneath. Whoever buys the Church shall have a 21 years' lease in the houses before the Church,

After endless discussions a kind of compromise was arrived at; the parishioners were to have the option of purchasing their own church at a price laid down, and one condition was attached, that it should be used for no other purposes than a burying place or schoolhouse.

27 April, 1658. Possession to be given up of the useless churches. The parishioners may attend on Mondays within the next fourteen days, either to buy or rent the same, otherwise they will be disposed of as the Chamber think fit.

11 May, 1658. A price of £230 was set on Stephen's Church, with the cellar underneath, and Mr. Toby Allyn agreed to purchase. The Chamber to retain the bells, the lead, and the materials of the tower (which is to be taken down) as far as the roof.

11 May, 1658. The Chamber moved to enlarge Mary Stepp's Church, but decide it is inconvenient to do so.

11 May, 1658. Agreed that the particular somes of money sealed bee pposed to the Parishioners of the respective parishe Churches hereafter menconed for the buying thereof to bee used and employed for burying places or schoolehouses only, and that notice be given to the parishioners.

X Lawrence	£100
Martin's	£100
George's	£100
X Allhallow's, Goldsmith St.	£50
Pancras	£50
Kirrian's	£66 13 4
Allhallow's-on-Walls	£33 6 8
Trinitye Church	£100
Paul's Church	£100
X Mary Stepp's	£100
John Bowe	£100
y Ollave's	

Mr. Walter Deeble at once, on behalf of the parishioners of Kerrian's, agreed to give the price put upon it, and accepted the conditions; and from the marks against the names of Lawrence, Allhallow's, Goldsmith St., Mary Stepp's, and Olave's, it may be inferred that these churches were also purchased or reserved for the parishioners of the respective parishes.

Dr. Vilvaine bought Allhallow's, Goldsmith St.; and, failing purchasers for the remainder, they were made over to St. John's

Hospital in consideration to the extent of £650 of monies advanced from time to time; an ingenious mode of discharging the city's debt to the charity. So for the time the matter ended.

The Dr. Vilvaine just mentioned was one of the twelve doctors living in Exeter in 1640, and concerning whom he wrote the following epigram :—

" Bis sex Exoniæ sunt intra mœnia nati
Doctores pariter, qui viguere diu.
Theologi quinque, et medici sunt quatuor, ex his
Sunt tres juridici, qui viguere simul."

He was a man of position and influence in the city, and through his action the Chamber, in December 1657, ordered the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral to be fitted up as a library, and their valuable collection of books at St. John's Hospital to be removed to this more convenient and secure repository. Preparatory to the removal a sum of £77 was expended in repairing and otherwise putting the books in order, and Mr. Prideaux and Mr. Maynard receive public thanks for their bounty in making valuable additions to the collection. The doctor himself had the charge of the new library, with the privilege of appointing an assistant; and we find that he employed one Parsons, to whose duty was added the care of the aisles and monuments in the Choir.

Whatever books and documents the Dean and Chapter may have possessed were probably removed and taken care of as soon as the troubles began, but their collection suffered irreparable loss in the year 1602, when, at the request of Sir Thomas Bodley, 132 MSS., including the Ancient Missal* given by Leofric to the Cathedral, were handed over to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.†

The use of the Lady Chapel as a library was continued to the year 1820, when, on the completion of the altar screen of the Cathedral by Kendall, the books were removed to the Chapter-house, together with the floor of the Chapel, which was of wood.

* Anno proximo (1602) donaverunt Decanus et Canonici Exonienses 132 Tractatus MSS., Wood. Hist. et Antiq. Oxon., vol. ii., p. 51.

† See page 9 of Lectures at the end of the vol.

In the latter part of the year 1656, Cromwell, desirous of giving a legal basis to his administration, found a pretext for again summoning a Parliament. He was anxious that the past tyranny should be condoned by a recognition of his rule in the face of the nation; but this was impossible with a free election of members. The Irish and Scotch representatives returned to serve in this Parliament were simply nominees of the Government, and one half of those from England not much otherwise. All Catholics and Royalists who had fought for the King were disqualified from voting. When the elected members repaired to the House for the first time, they found soldiers stationed at the door, who allowed none to pass in who had not a certificate of approval from his Highness's Council. Nearly one-fourth of the members presenting themselves were refused admission, not being provided with the important document, but Mr. Bampfylde, the member for Exeter, took his place in the assembly, for we find that in the spring of the following year the sum of £50 is remitted him towards his salary. By this Parliament Cromwell was invited to assume the title of King, but the soldiers would not hear of it, and so, a second time, with great splendour he was inaugurated Protector, and the sceptre of sovereignty was placed in his hand in presence of the assembled Commons. The best measure this Parliament adopted was the refusal to recognize the military rule of the Majors-General, and their office was consequently abolished, to the great relief of the people. After an adjournment of six months the members re-assembled, only to be dissolved again in a speech of angry rebuke by the Protector, provoked beyond measure at their triflings and bickerings.

A little more than six months elapsed when, amidst the howling of a mighty tempest, which unroofed houses and uprooted huge forest trees, the spirit of the great Dictator passed away—his death happened on what he had himself named his fortunate day, the 3rd of September, the day which had witnessed his great victories at Dunbar and at Worcester.

Richard Cromwell, his eldest son, to the general surprise, succeeded peacefully to the Government, and was proclaimed in

Exeter on "7 Sept., 1658. Ordered this day that the manner of "the proclayminge of his highnes Richard Lord-Protector bee at "the Guildhall, the Little Conduit, and in St. Peter's churchyard "within this Cittie, and the severall Corporacons to bee attending "& present thereatt." He was a weak and worthless man, and soon threw up the reins of power, leaving the field open for a struggle between the Army and the Parliament.

In the face of threatened anarchy, the eyes of the nation turned instinctively to the north, and there discovered one man who could save his country. George Monk, our countryman, born at Potheridge near Torrington, whose portrait as Duke of Albemarle and High Steward of Exeter hangs in our Guildhall, had long been in command of the highly disciplined and seasoned army which had kept the Highlanders in subjection. Far away from the centre of intrigue and faction, his soldiers cared nothing about politics or Parliaments, but they would unhesitatingly do the bidding of their General. It is not improbable that Monk foresaw the course events would take, and by skilfully weeding out from his ranks those who might give trouble, and supplying their places with material fit for the work, he now found himself in a position to exercise a powerful influence on the approaching crisis. In Devonshire, the Royalist movements had been almost developed into a regular organization; Sir John Grenville was in direct communication with Charles, and Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir Thomas Stukely, and others were deeply plunged in secret plots. The time for action was thought to have come, and it was decided to endeavour to induce Monk to march into England with his army and declare for the King. Dr. Nicholas Monk, of Potheridge, who, it was thought, would have more influence with his brother than any other person, was selected for the important task. Stopping in London on the way, he there met Grenville, who fortified him with two letters from Charles; one direct to the General, to this effect:—

"I cannot think you wish me ill, and the good I expect from "you will bring so great a benefit to your Country and to "yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest. I "leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your own "judgment, and will comply with the advice you will give me."

The other letter was addressed to Sir John Grenville, and reads thus :—

“ I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath he done anything against me which I cannot easily pardon ; and it is in his power to do me so great service that I cannot easily reward, but will do all I can, and perform what he shall promise his army, (whereof he shall still keep the command) upon the word of a King.”

Having made all necessary arrangements in London, and the plans of the party being carefully matured, Dr. Monk, with necessary caution, was put on board ship, and at once sailed away for Scotland. The mission was successful so far that Monk was persuaded to move his army, and he slowly advanced towards London, studiously maintaining the strictest silence as to his intentions. Each faction, expecting to benefit by his approach, interpreted this silence in its own favor, but it was nevertheless perplexing, and excited a feverish impatience in the people, who saw that the fate of the country hung upon his actions. Nearing London, he requested Parliament to remove the troops, then in garrison there, into the country, ostensibly to make room for his own. But there was another and more cogent reason for their removal: much demoralized, they were still the soldiers of the Protectorate, and favored a military Government too well to cherish the hope of a peaceable solution in any other form, as long as they were present in strength. The request was complied with, and of these soldiers fifteen hundred were most unwillingly received at Exeter and quartered in St. Stephen's Church.

Monk's conduct, as viewed in the light of events as they turned out, is comprehensible and patriotic. With an earnest desire to avoid further strife and confusion, he determined that the country itself should select its own form of Government, and that would have his support. He thus, in effect, spoke—“ You may, if you wish, continue under a military despotism ; you may submit to the selfish rule of the Parliament ; or you may have back your King and return to the old constitution ; but you, the people of England, must decide for yourselves. Therefore, I call upon the House, now sitting, to issue writs for a free Parliament, the members of which shall have been

“elected by the people without influence or coercion; what that free Parliament decides upon, shall be abided by; there shall be no terrorism, for I have scattered the political soldiery, and I am here with my army to maintain order and establish that form of Government which you may choose.”

From no quarter was the echo of Monk's demand louder than from Exeter. His intentions had no doubt been secretly conveyed to the powerful Royalist combination in the west, and the machinery for influencing the people was ready to be set in motion, as soon as the word was spoken. The excitement in this city became uncontrollable, and the hesitation of the Corporate authorities to declare their intentions drove the people to frenzy. Such terrible rioting took place, that all business was suspended and every shop closed for three days; and in the face of this the Chamber gave way, and decided to petition the House for a new election and a free Parliament.

28 Dec., 1659. Ordered that the Maior & Common Councill of this City of Exeter, in the name of the Maior, Bayliffe, and Comqualty, doe declare for the Parliamt and doe order the same to bee pclaimed in this City and the Libties thereof, and that the Parliamt ought to sitt and act free without interruption or molestacon of any person or persons whatsoever. And that all inhabitants and others within this Citye are required to keep and preserve the peace & tranquillitye of the same in obedience to the Government & authoritye of Parliament, and this order & proclamation to bee signed by Mr. Westlake, our Towne Clarke, by order & in the name of the Maior & Comon Councill.

Ordered that the letter agreed on shall be sent to the Speaker of Parliament by an express, & a copy kept of the letter & proclamation.

The dismayed and disappointed fragment of a Parliament dared not resist the overwhelming pressure from without, and the writs were speedily issued. Three candidates appeared for Exeter, viz., Mr. Fford, Mr. Bampfield, and Sergt. Maynard. For the first time the citizens recorded their votes in person, and the result was tumult and confusion; so much so that two returns were made from Exeter, and the Committee of Privileges in the Commons had to decide which were the successful candidates. They declared Mr. Bampfield and Sergt. Maynard duly elected, having the majority of votes of freemen and freeholders. Mr. Fford claimed the seat on the strength of a majority of votes by the freemen only, who, he contended, had exclusive right to the franchise.

When the new Parliament, or Convention, as it was called, had assembled, it was at once seen that the nation had enthusiastically determined that the Government of the kingdom should be, according to the ancient fundamental laws, by King, Lords, and Commons.

Thus fell Puritanism, as many thought, for ever. Long years afterwards, shorn of its bigotry, deprived of its petty tyranny, all that was good in it exercised an influence which could not be otherwise than beneficial to the social life of the nation. In its immediate effects it brought about an outbreak of frivolity and profligacy, such as England has never seen.

The long penance is done, and the carnival begins. Bells are ringing, guns firing, bonfires flaring, the conduits are dispensing wine in place of water to all comers, heralds are trumpeting, and cavaliers cheering, for this 11th day of May, 1660, Charles, the second of that name, is proclaimed King in Exeter.



• ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

ROYAL LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS AMONGST THE
MUNICIPAL RECORDS OF THE CITY OF EXETER.

THESE interesting documents, addressed to the Mayor and Corporation, and others, were formerly scattered about amongst the numerous deeds and papers in the muniment room of the Guildhall. A few years since they were, with others of kindred character, gathered together, arranged, and bound up in the form of a book. They are in fair condition, and some few of the seals are well preserved.

No. 1 is a letter from Henry the Seventh, and bears the date, 23rd day of June only. The year must be 1508, as the treaty mentioned in it was concluded at Paris on 21st Decr. 1507, and the marriage was to have taken place before the following Easter on pain of heavy penalties, but the illness of the King caused delay. The Prince of Castile was Charles, then Archduke of Austria and Prince of Spain, who afterwards became the celebrated Emperor, Charles the Fifth. He was then only seven years old, and the marriage was celebrated by proxy on 26th October 1508.

No. 2 is an epistle from Henry the Eighth to the Mayor, &c., of Exeter, dated 26th Feb. 1524, and is curious on account of the half-apologetic manner in which the collection of the subsidy is pressed. The impost referred to was evidently a distasteful one, and may have been the tax on foreigners instituted in the previous year, to provide the means of carrying on the war with France in conjunction with the Emperor Maximilian and others. There were numerous foreigners established in Exeter at that time, in connection with the woollen trade, for which that city was celebrated. The memorial mentioned as enclosed is not to be found.

No. 3 is from Queen Elizabeth, dated 4th Novr. 1562.

In the previous reign the city of Exeter had been made a County of itself, and consequently could not be included in the shire of Devon. This consideration appears to have been overlooked upon a levy of five hundred men, for the public service, being made upon the county of Devon. The mayor very properly considered that it did not concern Exeter, and so forbore to contribute the quota demanded from the city.

Nos. 4 to 9 refer to the siege of Exeter by the Cornish rebels in 1549. The first of the series was written immediately after the raising of the siege by Lord John Russell, and at the commencement he confirms the statement of Hoker, that the rebellion would never have reached such a head but for the lack of energy shown by the county magistrates and gentry, and he pays a tribute to the courage of the citizens in defending their city. The intended removal of the Church bells shows an uneasy feeling as to the future. In his second letter he condemns those who were backward and lukewarm in the cause of loyalty, to contribute a larger share towards the expenses of the siege. Sir Peter Carew, who writes to his "lovinge ffriendes" the mayor and his brethren, offering the services of Mr. Sture, a lawyer, to be to them a continual counsellor, was at that time in military charge of the city. His seat, one of the best fortified places in the county, was at Mohun's Oterie, near Ottery St. Mary. Mr. Sture was Recorder of Exeter four years later. The next letter from Lord John Russell (who had been created Earl Bedford) reproaches the corporation for not providing a tilting-ground as he desired, on Southernhay, an open space outside the walls near his own residence, Bedford House.

The letter from Giulio Borganey, refers to the manor of Exe-island, to which was attached some excellent fishing right, the river Exe being famous in those days for its salmon. The manor was given to the city by Edward the Sixth, in reward for the loyalty of the citizens during the siege.

No. 10 is a letter from Earl Bedford, the Ambassador to Spain, dated 26th June 1554, containing instructions for the authorities of Exeter, in the event of Phillip of Spain, who was coming to

England to marry Queen Mary, being driven to take refuge from sea-sickness at the first landing-place that might come in sight. The situation is described in Hollingshed :—"To meet Philip were sent Earl Bedford, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with divers noblemen and gentlemen, who, arriving at the Corone at Galisia, were received very honourably. And forasmuch the Prince was at Vale Dolido, distant near a hundred leagues, (after numerous delays) the English Ambassador met him at St. James' de Compostella. After he had ratified the contract and sworn to observe the covenant, he departed to Corone where he embarked, and, accompanied with 150 sail set out for England," and ultimately arrived at Southampton, so that Exeter escaped the burdensome visit.

No. 11 is a Proclamation by Queen Mary against the King of France ; date, 1556.

Nos. 12 and 13. These letters from King James and Mr. Hunter are dated a few days prior to the time appointed for the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh for his connection with the so-called main plot. It may be inferred from them that the Court expected some trouble in the western parts, particularly in the neighbourhood of, or even in the city of Exeter, near to which Raleigh was born, and where he was so well known. Raleigh, however, had too much to do with customs and licences and other privileges affecting commerce, ever to be a favourite with the Exeter merchants, hence Mr. Howell's assurance of loyalty ; which may have been an agreeable surprise to the King.

No. 14 is another letter from King James. The Bishop of Exeter had endeavoured in vain to gain access to the country outside the walls, through a proposed opening from his own garden. At length he appealed to the King and with the success shown. The opening was through a bastion which is now standing, an through which there is still a passage.

No. 1.—HENRY VII., 1507.

H. R.

BY THE KING. (ORIGINAL.)

TRUSTY and welbeloved we grete you wele And doubt not but that ye have notice and ful knowlege howe that now of late a treatie, God willing, to be had and made betwixt the young Prince of Castile and our right dere doughter the lady Mary, was by o^r orators and thambassadors of the King of Romayns lately agreed determynd and concluded at o^r towne of Calais, whiche aliance is so honorable necessary and expedient for the universal weale suretie strength and defence of this o^r reame and the subjectes of the same, that a more honorable ne yet more convenient coude any where be founde or devised, aswel considering the noble linage whereof the said young Prince is descended, which is of the grettest Kings and princes in Cristendom, as also remembering the regions landes and cuntrayes wherein by rightful enheritance he shall succede, of which cuntrayes sum be not feare distant from this our reame, by reason whereof manyfold commodities by fre entrecourse of merchaundises betwixt o^r and his subjectes shal ensue to the common weale of booth parties And albeit that the same shalbe changeable yet we thinke that noon so noble a mariage can any wher be founde, And that by meanes thereof and thother aliance that we have with o^r good son the King of Scottes, that o^r reame is in maner compassed aboute with suche noble and mighty princes, o^r frends confederates and alies, that it is and soe by Goddes grace shal contynue in rest peax and welthy condicion, to o^r and thare grete honor comfort and reioysing, and to the discomfort of all o^r ennemyes and evyllwillers. And to thintent that the said treatie of mariage so as above concluded, shalbe assuredly and inviolably observed executed and fulfilled on bothe parties at suche tyme as the said young prince and o^r doughter shal come to thare lawful ages for mariage, It is agreed and concluded that not oonly the said King of Romayns with a grete and honorable nombre of lordes cities and townes shalbe effectuely bounden under thare signes and seales for the performance thereof for thare partie, but also that we o^r son the Prince and the said lordes cities and townes shalbe effectuely bounden under thare signes and seales for the performance thereof for thare partie, but also that we o^r son the Prince and the said lordes cities and townes shalbe bound for thaccomplishment of the said mariage on o^r partie (amonge whiche nombre that o^r citie of Excester is oon with other specified in the lettres obligatories whiche this berer shal shewe unto you). Wherefor and inasmuche as this bonde by you to be made shalbe to thonour and universall weale of this our reame and nothing preiudicial or hurteful unto you, We wol and desire you to cause the said lettres obligatories to bee in due and sufficient forme sealed with youre comon seale, so that the same may be brought unto us wth convenient diligence seing that it requireth good spede and celeritie so to be doon—Not failing thus to do as ye tender o^r pleass^r and thadvancement of soo good and honorable a matier as this is. Geven under o^r signet at our Manor of Grenewiche the xxij daie of Juyn.

(*Endorsed*) To our trusty and welbeloved the Maire and his brethern of o^r Citie of Excestere.

No. 2.—HENRY VIII. 1524-5.

HENRY R.

BY THE KING. (ORIGINAL.)

Trusty and right welbeloved and trusty and welbeloved we grete you well. And where as in o^r laste Parliament holden at o^r citie of London and fromthens adiorned unto o^r Palays of Westm^r our loving subjeetts the nobles and comons in the same assembled, in consideracon of our greate charge susteigned and to bee susteigned for the defence of this oure realme and mayntenance of our warres, gave and graunted unto us an honourable and ample subsidie, To bee had levied and taken in sundry yeres according to the teno^r and forme of an Acte thereuppon then made and establyshed, for the execution whreof ye were and bee by vertue of the same Acte and our Comission assigned and deputed to be Comissioners within that o^r Cittie. It is now comen unto our knowlege that partely by inadvertence and misexposition of the saide Acte and partely percase¹ by favour the same in diverse partes of this our Realme hath not been duely executed accordinge to the verraye teno^r and true meanyng thereof, whereby if it shud soo passe unreaformed not only we shulde susteigne greate losse, but also other our subgiettes in the parties where suche defaulte hath not been used, might have cause of greif and complainte, whereof as by your wisdoms ye may wel conside diverse inconvenients might ensue,—We having singular trust and confidence in your towardenes and fidelities, willing the defaultes in this behalf comitted to be reaformed as to reason and congruence doeth appertaigne, have caused our officers in our Eschequier to put in suspense the entering of your certificates by any matier of recorde for discharge of the Comissioners and Collectors till suche time as by your good dexterities and wisdomes suche oversights and defaultes as have been comited may be reaformed and amended, the specialities whereof wth the waye and meanes howe to reaforme the same be mencioned in a memoriall which wee sende unto you herein closed. Wherefore wee woll and desire you (not doubting but that ye woll acqyte you herein accordinge to the speciall truste and confidence which wee have in your towardenes and conformable mynde to doo unto us acceptable service), groundely and substancially to note theeffecte and particularities of the saide memoriall, And thereupon eftesones deviding and allotting your selves in suche fourme and man^r (as ye lately have doon) ye by dulce amicable and goodly meances make overture of the saide defaultes and misexpositions unto suche and as many of o^r subgiettes as it shall appertaigne, showing unto thim howe yee not understanding the hool of the saide Acte have in some things mistaken the same, soe that by your policies and circumspections the oversights and things paste for lacke of perfete understanding omitted and comitted, may bs really effectually lovingly and conformably reafourmed and amended, according to the purpose iuste meaninge and entent of the saide Acte. And we duely aunswared of that whereunto by ten^r of the same and entent of our saide loving subgiettes we bee entitled, wherein ye shall

¹ *i.e.* perhaps.

cause suche ordre to be used aswell in pressing collection and certificate making as is conteigned in the seide Acte and emoriall afforesaid devised from the more full and perfete execution of the same, reatorning and testifieing your doing in the premisses with the particuler names of every person within the precincte of the seide comission chargeable to the seide Acte, the valuacion of their goodes or landes, and the somes of money whereunto they bee taxed, holly fully and entierly wthout any farther tracte or delaye before *mense pasche* next ensuying, At whiche tyme your former certificates shalbe delyverd unto you. And ye by vertue of these o^r lettres to bee clerly discharged from any daungers or penalties to ensue unto you by reason of suspending your seide form^r certificates for the tyme, ffaile ye not therefore effectually to endevor^r yourselve t'accomplishe the premisses in discrete pleasaunte and loving man^r (as our speciall truste is in you) and as ye well desire o^r speciall thanks to bee hereafter remembered accordingly. Given under o^r signet at o^r mano^r of Grenewich the xxvith day of February the xvth yere of o^r reign.

(*Endorsed*) To our Trusty and wellbeloved the Maior of our Citie of Exceter, Sir Thomas Denys, Knight, Richarde Duke, and other o^r loving frends deputed for the subsidie within the same, and to every of them—

? 26 Feb 1524.

No. 3.—ELIZABETH, 1562.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE. (Original.)

Trusty and welbeloved we grete yo well. Where we gave ordre heretofore unto the Sherif and Justices of peax of o^r Countie of Devon to prepare the nombre of ffyve hundrd men to be taken wthin the body of that shere for o^r service, towards which nomb^r they required to have aide oute of the Citie of Exeter, understanding that you haveforborne to minister any yo^r selves therein in respecte that the Citie is a Countie in itself, we nowe therefore thought good upon advertisement of the same from them to will and requier you that ye do upon receipt hereof contribute to the advauncement of o^r said service by setting furth of men and otherwise according as by conference with the said Shirif and Justices it shalbe in convenient sort accorded betwene you, and for the levieing and sending oute of the men in forme aforesaid we ar pleased that thes o^r lettres shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge accordingly. Geven under o^r Signet at o^r hono^r of Hamptonco^{rt} the iiijth daye of November in the ffourthe yere of o^r reige.

(*Endorsed*) To o^r trustie and welbeloved the Maior and Aldermen of o^r Cytie of Excester.

No. 4.—Augst 1549. (Original.)

John Lorde Russell lorde previseale to the Kinges mat^{tes} lieuetenaunte generall in the west parties, To the Maior^r and his bretherne of the Citie of Exceter greting. Whear for lacke of good orders amongst suche as ought to rule the Commons as

well in thes as in other partes of the Realme, ther have growen of late suche comotions and rebellions as the lyeke have not been harde of, insomuche that the rudest of the people contempninge ther superiours have attaigned so unnaturall libertie, that at length ther pryde and ignorance have provoked their naturall soveraigne lorde and kinge to use his sworde of justice against them, fforasmuch as it is nowe the more requisite to looke hensfurthe substanciallie to the good governaunce of evry quarter for the comonwelthe of the hole : I therefore have thought good in the kinges mat^{ies} name to charge and commande yor immediately to piruse what men wthin the precinctes of yo^r auctoritie are metest . . . the staie . . . inconvenience appointing every man to knowe whome he shall folowe and . . . them in suche sorte as no man be unreadye to do his duetie when occasion shall so require, Lyke as on thothersyde you must forsee that no man be soe hardie upon payne of death to stirre or to medle in these cases onlesse he be thereunto specially appointed : And that according to such order as yo^u shall take in that behalfe. And forasmuch as upon the late triall of your faithfulnes and good courage in the valiaunt maintaigning of this Citie to the Kings Mat^{ies} hon^r and your owne comon welthe (wherein yo^u have deserved singuler praise and highe thanks) you wer neverthelesse brought to thuttermost pointe of miserie, yf by his highnes power you had not ben the rather relieved Considering the principall faulte thereof to have growen of the lacke of suche aide and assistaunce as the gentelmen of the countrey shoulde have geven youe, in tyme or^d ever the Comons had ben hable to straine youe as they did. I therefore have appointed Sr Peter Carew Sr Roger Blewet Knights M^r Pierse Courtney M^r Richard Chidleigh & M^r Anthony Harvye Esquiers to assiste you, being yo^r neighbours and gentlemen of suche forwardnes towards this service as in case of nede will I doubt not so further yo with their good counsell and so strengthen yo also with their powers that ye shall at all tymes be hable muche the better to resist the multitude if any suche ignorant violence shoulde happen to be offred againe. Wherefore lyeke as I have appointed them to be assistants unto yo, So I require and pray yo to use their advyse and helpe whansoever the case shall soe require, Charging and commanding in the Kinges mat^{ies} name all maner of men what soever they be within yo^r liberties, upon paine of Death to obey and folowe all suche orders as ye by vertue of this Commission shall take in this behalfe. Also forasmuche as the rebells of this Countie of Devon have used the belles in every parishe as an instrument to stir the multitude and call them together thinking good to have this occasion of attempting the lyeke hereafter taken from them, the said Commissioners appointed for the governement of the shere and ther assistantes shall shall cause all the belles in every parishe churche or chapell wthin ther said limits to be taken downe (the last bell in every ringe in every churche or chapell onely excepted). And takege away the clappers of the saide belles from the place, shall leave the same bells in the custodie and charge of some honest men of the parishe or nere neighbours thereunto, to be safely kepte unto the kings mat^{ies} use untill his graces pleasure shalbe further signified for order or disposition

of the same otherwise at his most gracious pleasure. And in the practise therof to use suche discrete moderacon and honest perswasions as yt may be done wth as much quietnes and as litell effence to the Comon people as may be.

J. Russell.

(*Endorsed*) To the Right Worshipfulles Mr John Tuckfilde, mayer of the Cytie of Exceter, Mr John Blackhall, Mr William Hurste, Mr John Brycknell, Mr John Mydwynter, Mr Thomas Prestowde, Mr John Buller, Bretheren unto the said Mayer and his bretheren. And unto Sir Peter Carewe, Sir Roger Blewet, Knightes, Mr Pierse Courtney, Mr Richarde Chidleighe, Mr Anthony Harvye, Esquires, being especially appoynted as assistaunts and ayde unto the said mayre and his bretheren.

2 i. e., before.

No. 5.—15th Aug. 1549. (Original.)

Right Worshippfulles after my veary herty comendacons—Beeinge credibelye informed that whear as the defence of the City hath been veary chargeable, and that although reason wholde that every citizen for his porcon and accordinge to his habilitie shoulde have been contributoure thereunto, yet nevertheless some of the said citizens, for some synister affecons they had in this cause beeinge a greate many of them of good wealthe and substaunce, have not only refused to be partakers of the chargies, but also have withdrawen them seelves frome doinge service at suche tymes as the same was most nedefull both for the defence of the citye, and the suretye of them seelves. I have therefore thought good to desire you to cali before you all suche as have so demeaned them seelves or shalbe notified unto you for their slacknes in this behalf, and that you give order that all suche as hathe not hetherto boren their partes, be compelled by yo^r seyd order to be contributores withe the rest accordinge to ther habilities as reason is. Wherein I praye you in no wise to omytte that all such as have refused to serve do paye the more for that they have not done ther partes as became true subjectes unto the Kings mat^{ie}. And this my letter shall give you full power and auctorytie to provide in this behalf. Geaven at Exeter the xvith of August 1549.

Yo^r lovinge ffriende

J. Russell.

(*Endorsed*) To the Right Worshipfulles the Mayer of the Cytie of Exceter, and to S^r Roger Bluett, Knight, Mr John Hull, Esquire, and the rest of the Brethern of the same.

No. 6.—(Original.)

After my right hartie comendacons. Desiringe the furtheraunce of good and cercumspecte gouernaunce of yo^r Citie I have according to my last communycacon with you in your Counsell Chambre moved Mr Sture to serve you as a continuall counsaillor the comoditie whereof it may be affirmed wilbe as much o yo^r honesties as ever thinge that ye procured for thadvancement of yo^r sealfes or the Citie, ffor even as yf yo^r Citie be ruled by knowledge men will reporte and

accompte you wurthie the auctoritie that ye inioye. So if it be founde contrarie, You maie assure yo^r selves it will be both thought and spoken that yo have desired to make your Citie a countie and thenlargement of yo^r liberties under a pretence to sunder good ordre, and do not in any parte accomlishe the same. By this man beinge both of honestie and larninge you maie atteine the good reporte of thone and avoide the reproche of thother. And even as his beinge amonge you shall be muche to yo^r furtheraunce, so if you do not liberallie see to his paines it can not be but much to his hinderaunce, ffor he shall not onely be driven to leave his house where he is settled but also leave the practice of the common lawe in matiers abroad, which you maie gesse is no speciall abatement of his living. That I maie therefore give him an answer I shall desire to be advertised from you what you mynde to give him to the countervailing of his charges. And thereupon will I wurke for yo^r comoditie as I can best desire. And thus flare you right hartelie well, from Mohuns Oterie the iiijth of June 1550.

Yo^r assured frend

P. Carew.

(*Endorsed*) To my lovinge ffriendes the Mayo^r of
Exceter and his Bretheren.

No. 7.—(Original.)

After my veary hartie commendacions. Whear I have heretofore directed my lettres unto you that ther mighte be a tilte buylded in Southinghaye according to the request of the gentilmen inhabiting thereabouts nighe to yo^r Citie for th'honest recreation pastyme and sporte and the good exercise of ryding and other feates at armes, a thing not only most necessary to be frequented and used but also many wayes vearye comodious to th'ole citie. Fforas much as yf the thinge be well wayed there ought no delaye to be had therein but rather a willing towardnesse of your partes the maio^r and brethren to sette it further: Therefore I have eftesones thought good to make my requeste unto you all, not to passe more of xx or xls by the yere then of that which so diverse wayes shall bringe occasion of greater profite then so small a rent to set assyde so honest a thing as that shallbe.

And herein I wolde ye made a direct answer to my servant Barnard Duffeilde which ye will graunt, upon which we shall worke accordingly. Yf yo had graunted yt before yt shoulde have been ready by this tyme. Thus I rest upon yo^r good answer and furtheraunce therein and even so wish you all as well to fare as my selfe. Ffrom the King's Ma^{ties} Palaice at Westm^r the second of June 1550.

Yo^r lovinge frend.

(John) J. Bedford.

(*Endorsed*) To my veary loving frends the Maio^r and
his brethern of the Citie of Exeter.

No. 8.—9 Oct. 1549. (Original.)

This Bill made the ixth Oct. yn the therd yer of the reigne of oure Sovrayne lord Edward the Sext by the grace of God Kyng of England ffraunce and

Ireland defendaire of the ffaith and of the Church of England and Ireland yn erth the supreme head, Witnysseth that wher as wee William Drewrye and John Gefylde gentilmen, servauntes to the right honorable lord Russell, lord leve tenant yn this west parties have receyved of John Tuckfield, mayor of the citie of Exon, and his brethren, upon the request of the said lord letenaunt ffor the King's necessirie affaires, twoo dubble cassys and iiij chambers parcell of the ordynaunce of the said cetie, to be redelyvred to the said mayor and his brethren a thissid the ffeast of Ester next ynsuing And we the said Will^m and John Gefyld do by this present and be o^r heires and executers [promise] to redelyver the said twoo cassys and iiij chambers att Exeter a thissid the seid ffeist of Ester next ynsuyng, or two other doble casses and iiij chambers yn their sted as mych in value as the said twoo cassis ar nowe worth. In witness whereof wee the said Will^m and John Gefild to this present have putt o^r seales the day and yer above writyn.

John Mitchell.

Wyll^m Drury.

No. 9.—(Original.)

After my hartye comendacions. The mayo^r and aldermen of Exete^r have done me to understand by the lettres patents of Kynge Edward the Sixte under the great seale of Englande that the man^or of Exilounde is given to them, and that the ffishynge of Exe and the rent reserved upon my copie for the same ffishynge is apperteyninge to the cittie as parcell of the said man^or, and so do requyre the rente of me. And for that I should be lothe to do any iniurye. this shallbe to will youe and also to requyre youe, takyne of them assuraunce for my discharge and yours agaynste the Quenes magestie if that it shall otherwiss fall out, to paye unto the said mayo^r and aldermen the said rente. And thus moste hartelie fare youe well, from London the xth of Julye.

Your assured friend

Guilio Borgarney.

(*Endorsed*) To Robert Hunte and others my farmers of the Rever of Exe and to eny of them geve this.

No. 10.—26 June 1554. (Original.)

Right Worshipfulls, after my veary hartie comendacions. Forasmoeche as I understande that the Prince of Spayne can veary hardlye endure long travayle uppon the Sea and that by reason thereof I am in doubt lest he wilbe desirous to lande at the next place he can come unto in Englande, as at Ffalmouthe or Plymouthe, I have thought meete to geve you advertisement hereof, to thintent youe maye be in suche a reddynges for the receaving of hym in to that Citie as maye be for the hono^r of the Quenes matie and the realme, and that he maye thinke hymself welcome in to the countrey: Praying you to frame yorselves herein as that uppon proffe of you^r weltdoinge I maye report the same unto the Quene's matie whom I doubt not by you shall fynde thankfull, therefore yt shalbe veary requysayte that you cause the Bisshopes house to be made in readynes for

the Prince to lye there (if he shall fortune to lande in the west parties), also it shalbe well donne that youe provide some good thinges to present the Prince withall at his comynge. And that you provide all suche other thinges, as lodginge, vytayles, horses for carriages, and horses to convaye the Princes trayne, beinge about iiij or v hundred, beside ij hundred that cometh with me, as you shallbe best hable to the uttermost of yo^r powers. And yo^r diligence to be used therein I will have in good memorye, where so ever it shall be in me to shewe yo^a pleasure. Ffrom St. James Compostella the xxvith of June.

Yo loving frend

J. Bedford.

Post scripta. I write not this for that I am assured the Prince will lande in those partes but doubting the worst I have thought good to give youe some admonyshment thereof, for that all thinges might be in better order if he should fortune to arrive there, for the hono^r of the Quene's mat^v and the hole realm. Notwithstanding I will do all that shall lye in me to cause hym to arrive at Southampton where all thinges are prepared for hym, but wee all must be subject to wynd and weather The Prince will be at the Groyne the xxvijth of June, and there will stay only for wynde and weather for his navye, and all other necessaryes arre in a reddyne, being as fayre a company of shippes as ever I sawe.

(*Endorsed*) To the Right Worshipfulls and my veary lovinge frindes the maio^r and his bretherne of the Citie of Exett^r.

NO. II.—PROCLAMATION.

MARYE THE QUENE. BY THE QUENE.

Although at our first comenge to the Crown wee were geven t'understande that the notable and haynoust treason enterprised by the Duke of Northumberland was supportied and fundered by Henry the French Kyng and his ministers by him put in trust, and that shortly after in the conspiracie moved against God and us by Wyst and his traiterose bande, the said Kyng's ministers dyd secretlye practyse and geve their favorable comforts thereunto, contrary to the treaties of peax between booth the realmes, all good amytie and hono^r, yet the greate love we beare to the peax of Xtendom and to the quiet of o^r loving subjects moved us rather to impute the same to his mynysteres whom he used in service than unto himself, thinking even that by that o^r patience to have enduced him to beare us true amytie and to use good neighbored towards us and o^r subjects, for the which respect we were not only contented to beare such iniuries as to o^r self had been by hym doon, but also travayled to be a meane of pacificacion between Thempo^r and the sayd Kyng, sending o^r Ambassado^r to Calays for that purpose to o^r greate charge, as the world knoweth, which o^r travayl and good zeale was not sowl employed nor taken of him as of us ment, for not long after that time when the devyll had put in the hedds of Duddley, Asheton and other their complices to entre into a newe conspiracie agaynst us, the sayd Kings Amba-

sado^r was not onely pryvy thereof but also receyved them into his howse there, suffering them t'assemble and contrive their malyciose and devylishe enterprise, and although the sayd King was advised thereof by our ambassado^r with him resident, and also frendly desired not to support nor favor any suche doings, nevertheles the same conspiracie being afterwards detected and sundry of thoffenders confessing it by juste ordre of lawe executed, Dudley, Asheton and others flyeng into Ffraunce were both receyved of the Kyng, and also maynteyned with annual pencons by hym gyven, contrary to his promesse which he made unto a personage of honour sent untohim from us, gyveing hereby a most dangerose example and perniciose to all prynces whose estate and lief cannot be sure yf traitors may be receyved and supported. The lyke mynde he declared towards us in receyveing sundry famous and notoryous pirates enemyes of Xtendom and spoylers of our subjects, whom he maynteyned with men money and shippes t' exercise their piracie. And to declare that no patyence or good demeno^r of our parte can move him to beare us good amytye, of late he sent Stafforde with other rebelles whom he had entreteyned in that Realme, furnyshed with armoure monie municon and shippes, to surprise o^r Castle of Scarborough, not contented this long tyme to have borne with pirates and such as have robbed o^r marchauntes and other o^r subjects by seas and to have used dishonorable practyses for the surpriseng of Calays and other places on that syde, the mynysters whereof have been openly knowen, and the spialles taken, for the better mayntenance of wych ungodly doings and greter annoyance of o^r realme, he hath contynually suffered in his countreys forgers of false moneyes and counterfaytors of o^r royme, for the which causes and also for that he hath with all hostilitie invaded the lowe countreys, to the defence and preservacon whereof we are bounde by speceal treatye, and considering that neyther by demaunding redresse thereof we can obteyn any, neyther by good meanes which we have hetherto used, ne enioye any amytye or good neibourowed at his hands, neyther by promisse be assured of the same, we have thought better to have him knowen and taken for an open enemye of whom we maye be warre, then undre the pretence of amytye a secrete worker against us and a pryvy enemye, such as we have hitherto found him, to the greate danger of o^r person and losse and damage of o^r subjects. And therefore we geve warning to all o^r loving subjects from hensforth to forbere all trafique and contracting with any of that realme, and to repute the seyd french Kyng and his subjects as open enemyes, annoying them by all such meanes as men maye and ar wont to do their enemyes. And although he hath used without juste cause or denouncing any warre to annoye o^r marchauntes and subjects, yet gyve we unto all his marchauntes and subjects forty days space after this proclamation to departe this o^r realme with such goodes as they have here goten and maye by o^r laws cary awaye, to the which effect we shall gyve them or any of them o^r sauf conduyt and pasport yf they shall requyre it. Geven undre o^r signet at o^r palace of Westm^r the vijth of June the thirde and fourth yeres of our reignes (1556)

Frauncis Yardes.

No. 12.—(Original).

JAMES R.

Trustie and well beloved wee greet yo well. We have bene creditie enformed of your confident and faythful service always to oure progenitors, and of your good and comfortable acceptation of us in your speedie and cheerfull proclaiming of us and other dewtifull respects when as some (otherwise disposed) expected a more troublesome tyme, which albeit it was your dewtie, yet wee doe thankfully accept of yt, and withall doe give you assurance that wee wilbe also readye to yeald to any your reasonable suites that may be for your good, and somewhat the rather yff they shalbe preferred unto us by or welbeloved servant John Howell one of your brethrene, of whose loyaltie and good services wee have experience, as also by him have received advertisement of the readynes of some of you in particular, which wee ar pleased to take more than ordinarie notice of with respect to remember thame as occasion shall requyre. And as wee tak comfort to hear of your carefull government in the tyme of owre late dearest sister, So wee hope you will hold on your good proceedings to the manteaning of verteu and suppressing of vice, Whereunto wee wilbe alwayes also readye to give assistance as or gracious cair and affection ever shalbe to the wele and cherishing of all or loving subjectes.

To the Mayor and his brethren
of the Citty of Exon.

No. 13.—(Copy).

THE COPPIE OF MR. WILL^M. HUNTER'S LETTER TO THIS CITTIE.

Worthy Cittizens: Though I be unacquainted wth you but by the intercourse of Mr. John Howell his maties servant your profittable trew citizen and my loyall frend, who hath byn a happy bee for your hyve, for by his labors he hath gotten you the great goodwill of so worthy and virtuous a prince, as witness his highness owne hand and secrett seale unto you. And as a secret (in your senate) conceale the same, for that yt ys written by secrett secretary, a Scottish man, his matie ys not desirous that the secret love which he beareth to his secret frends should be publicly knowen, and as his M^{tie} hath professed unto you a tender love and a care of you and your sutes, so be as carefull that your comonwealth be concordant wthout controvercy or faction: for that civyll sedition breedeth an unperfitt republick and consequently to their Prince slow service. As your occasions do fall furthe so lett me be advertised by my loyall frend Mr. Howell and none other, for that his Matie (Sr. Thomas Areskyne, only secretary to this proceedinge) and I do confidently put trust in hym. And I shall remayne at court your earnest and faithfull agent in all your affaires, with that solicitude and cair as becometh a loyall frend to his masters frends. I keepe (and so am commanded) the register of such particular frends within your citty as he hath

geven, and his mat^{tie} hath taken notice of who in their due by me are to receave their particular thankes, and in the meane season stand fast and firme to your professed loyalty: I tak my leave comyttinge you to the Almighty. I rest your assured frend to my power

Wyll Hunter.

From the Court this 15th day of

November 1604.

To the Right worthfull the Maior Aldermen and Counsell of
the Citty of Exon.

No 14.—(Original).

JAMES R.

Trusty and welbeloved wee grete you well. Whereas the Reverende Father in God the Bishop of Exeter hath humbly represented unto us that he hath no other house for his habitacon belonginge to his Bishopricke save onely one within the Cittie of Exeter, and that inclosed within the comon wall of the Citty, whereby he is debarred from taking the ayre abroad into the open feildes for his health and recreation unless he go thorow a parte of the Citty; And hath made knowne unto us that as some others have heretofore ben permitted by yo^r predecessers to have a doore through the wall for their more easie passage abroad, soe he hath requested you to have had the like permission from you, which notwithstandinge you have refused unto him Wherefore having recourse unto us for our gracious favor in that behalf, Wee tenderinge the welfare of his estate and findinge his request not unreasonable, have assented thereunto, willinge and requiringe you to suffer the said Bishop to make a convenient doore through the Citty wall and to have the use of it from tyme to tyme, he beinge readie whensoever any public urgent necessity shall require for the good and safety of the Citty to make it up againe. Geven under o^r signet at our Pallace of Westm^r the sixt daye of Marche in the twentieth yeare of o^r Raigne of England ffraunce & Ireland, and of Scotland the sixe & fiftieth.

(Endorsed)

Georgius Munck.

To our trustie and welbeloved
the Maior and Aldermen of the
Cittie of Exeter
(large seal)



ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, PROCLAMATIONS, &c.

An interesting and, it is thought, unique collection of the Acts, Orders, Proclamations, and other proceedings of the Parliament during the first three years of the Commonwealth has been found in the Library at the Chapter House. Although discovered too late to be of any use in compiling the chapters on "Exeter during the Great Rebellion," they singularly confirm the statements made in reference to the severity of the Puritan rule, and some account of them may not be unacceptable.

The first Act in the collection is dated 16th January, 1648, whilst the trial of the King was proceeding. It is held convenient and necessary for "**divers weighty reasons and occasions to adjourn part of next term of Hilary, that is to say from the first return thereof, called Octabis Hilarii, until the return of Crastino Purificationis,**" and all matters, causes, and suits are to be postponed accordingly, the Sheriffs throughout the country to proclaim the same.

29th January, 1648. An Act for the alteration of several names, forms, &c., used in Courts and elsewhere. Instead of the name, style, title, and teste of the King, *Custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate Parliamenti. Juratores pro Republica* to be substituted for *Juratores pro Domino Rege. Contra pacem Publicam* for *Contra pacem, dignitatem vel Coronam nostrum*.

9th February, 1648. "A Declaration of the Parliament of England for maintaining the fundamental laws of this nation. To be dispersed to the several counties with all speed."

9th February, 1648. "An Act to prevent the printing of any of the proceedings in the High Court of Justice erected for trying of James, Earl of Cambridge and others."

Die Sabbathi, 24th February, 1648. Supplemental Act for the encouragement of officers and mariners. In case they shall destroy the Admiral of the revolted ships, £20 per gun; Vice-Admiral, £12; Rear-Admiral, £12; and any other ship, £10 per gun.

5th March, 1648. "An Act for authorizing Col. Blake, Col. Popham, and Col. Dean, or any two of them, to be Admiral and General of the Fleet, now at sea."

Die Mercurii 14 Martii. Resolved by the Commons assembled in Parliament:—

"That Sir John Stowel, Knight, be proceeded against for life in the Upper Bench, also David Jenkin in the proper County. That Charles Stuart, eldest son to the late King; James Stuart, second son of the late King; the Duke of Buckingham, John, Earl of Bristol; William, Earl of Newcastle; Sir William Weddrington, George, Lord Digby; Sir Phillip Musgrave, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Francis Doddington, Sir John Culpepper, Sir John Byron, the Earl of Worcester, and Sir John Winter, and all such persons as have been assisting the Rebellion in Ireland, shall be proscribed and banished, and shall die without mercy and their estates be confiscate." Twenty-five other resolutions as to delinquents compounding, having time for submitting, &c., &c.

19th March, 1648. "An Act for the abolishing the Kingly Office."

19th March, 1648. "An Act for abolishing the House of Peers."

"Die Sabbathi, 7th April, 1649. An Act for raising of ninety thousand pounds *per mensem* for the maintenance of the forces raised by authority of Parliament for the service of England and Ireland for six months, from 25th March, 1649 to 29th September, 1649."

The Assessment for the County of Devon, to be collected in two instalments, amounted to £9,152 19s. 2½d.

For the City of Exeter, £329 3s. 9d.

The Commissioners appointed for the County were Henry Waldron, Arthur Upton, Christopher Saverey, Henry Pollexfen, Arthur Fortescue, William Fry, Robert Rolls, John Bear, Richard Foxworthy, Christopher Martin, Esquires; Sir John Bampffield, Baronet; Sir Richard Strode, Sir Edmund Fowel, Sir Henry Rosewel, Sir John Yong, Knights; Walter Yong, Edmund Prideaux, Francis Rowse, John Roll, Philip Crocker, Robert Savory, John Mallack of Axmouth, Philip Skippon, Esquires; the Maior of Plymouth for the time being, John Barton of Silferton, John Champneys, Thomas Boon, Philip Francis, Joseph Hankin, John Marshall, Thomas Ceely, Sampson Hele, Sir Gregory Norton,

Sir Francis Drake, Baronets; John Drake de Aysh, William Bastard, Sir John Pole, Baronet; Christopher Wood, Robert, Duke de Otterton; William Fowel, Thomas Drake de Winscomb, Matthew Hele, Peter Bevis, John Yeo, John Dodderidge, Richard Wood, Edmund Davies, John Drake John Elford, John Tuckenfield, Hugh Fortescue, Arthur Fortescue, Hugh Trevilian, Peter Speccot, William Morris, John Fountain, John Quick, John Wollacombe, Nicholas Roop, John Carew, John Tirling, William Put, Richard Channon, Henry Worth, Thomas Hatch, William Squire, Esquires; Maior of Dartmouth for the time being, Maior of Barnstaple for the time being.

The Commissioners for the City and County of the City of Exeter were Mr. Richard Sanders, Richard Sweet, Christopher Clark, junior, James Marshall, Thomas Westlake, the Maior of Exon for the time being, Edmund Prideaux, Esquire, Recorder, John Hackwell, Adam Bennett, Richard Crossing, John HehnRaaklg,hivehrBdpooCoopn,LJmoe saNrva,EsniRiicaho ingc,r.ron l

23rd April, 1649.—A proclamation of the late King to keep and hold a general, public, and solemn fast on the last Wednesday of each month during the troubles in Ireland, is declared null and void, and a solemn day of fasting and humiliation set apart on the 17th of May, on account of the “**prophaneness, opposition to reformation, and proneness to relapse into the former condition of tyranny and superstition,**” and to “**give a blessing and success to the forces of the Parliament now in Ireland.**”

20th April, 1649.—“**An Act of the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends and other Offices and Titles, of or belonging to any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church or Chappel within England and Wales.**”

This is a very sweeping Act; the names, titles and dignities of all Cathedral or Collegiate Church functionaries are wholly abolished and taken away. “**All Honors, Manors, Lordships, Circuits, Precints, Castles, Granges, Messuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Pastures, Parsonages appropriate, Tythes, Oblations, Obventions, Pensions, portion of Tythes, Parsonages, Rectories, Vicarages, Churches, Chapels, Advowsons, Donatives, Nomination, Right of Patronage and Presentation, Parks, Woods, Rents, Reversions, Services, Annuities, Franchises, Liberties, Priviledges, Immunities, Rights of Action and of Entry,**

“Interest, Titles of Entry, Conditions, Commons, Courts
 “Leet and Courts Baron, and all other possessions and
 “hereditaments whatsoever, with all and every of their
 “appurtenances, of what nature or quality soever they
 “be, which now are, or at any time within ten years before
 “the beginning of this present Parliament of right were
 “belonging to the said Deans, Deans and Chapter, &c.,”
 are vested in certain named Trustees, who are to administer the
 estates under conditions, but are endowed with ample powers.
 They may pay themselves their salaries out of part of the pre-
 mises, as well as those of the officers they may appoint to assist
 in the spoliation, such as Surveyors, Treasurers, Trustees, &c.
 The same Act transfers, as a charge upon the estates, large
 specified sums of money advanced for the public service, hitherto
 charged upon the Grand Assize.

14th May, 1649.—An Act declaring that offences shall be judged
 High Treason punishable by death—*inter alia*—any person
 declaring that “**the Government is tyrannical, usurped, or**
 “**unlawful; or that the Commons assembled in Parlia-**
 “**ment are not the supreme authority of this nation.**”

18th May, 1649.—“**A Declaration of the Parliament of**
 “**England of their just resentment of the horrid murder**
 “**perpetrated on the body of Isaac Dorislaus, Doctor of the**
 “**Laws, then resident at the Hague, on the 12th of**
 “**May, 1649.**”

25th May, 1649.—Additional Commissioners appointed for the
 City of Exeter in the collection of the War Assessment,—Mr.
 Thomas Ford, merchant, Mr. John Doon, Mr. Henry Prig,
 Major James Pearce, Major Thomas Sanders, Governor of Exon.

2nd June, 1649.—Instructions to the Trustees, &c., for the sale
 of the Estates of the Deans and Chapters; persons having money
 owing them by Parliament may double the amount upon the
 credit of the Estates.

8th June, 1649.—“**An act for providing maintenance for**
 “**Preaching Ministers and other pious uses.**” They are to
 be paid by the Trustees out of the Estates of the Deans and
 Chapters.

26th June, 1649.—“An act for the sale of Goods and **Personal Estate of the late King, Queen and Prince.**”

The proceeds to be vested in Trustees who are first of all to pay £30,000 to the Navy, and then discharge the debts of the Royal Family due “**unto divers persons who are not delinquents.**”

9th July, 1649.—Resolve of the Commons concerning such Ministers as shall directly or indirectly, in preaching or praying, make mention of Charles Stuart or James Stuart, sons to the late King, who by judgment of Parliament are declared enemies and stand excepted from pardon.

16th July, 1649.—An Act for the sale of the Honors, Manors, and Lands heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince. The public buildings, royal residences, public parks and official occupations are exempted.

27th July, 1649.—An Act establishing the Corporation or Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. To preach the Gospel to the heathen natives “**in their own Indian language.**”

16th August, 1649. “**A Declaration and Narrative of the grounds and reasons for setting apart a day of Publique Thanksgiving,**” to be kept Wednesday, 29th August, 1649.

The Declaration is very curious, and characteristic of the Parliament, which considered itself under the special protection of the Almighty. It is full of scriptural allusions, and written in the fervid earnest style of the time. The occasion is the gallant victory of General Jones, in command of the Parliamentary forces in Ireland, over Osmond and the Royal army. Jones had but a slender footing in the country, and was at the time cooped up in Dublin besieged by the enemy. On the 2nd of August the General went out from the city with twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot for the purpose of “beating up the enemy’s quarters,” but a general engagement ensued, when, after two hours’ hot fighting, the troops under the Earl of Osmond were utterly routed. According to the dispatch, 4,000 of the enemy were slain and 2,500 taken prisoners, whilst on the Parliamentary side only twenty men were missing, but many wounded. This, however, is incredible. This disaster to the Royalists was a

deathblow to the cause of the young King in Ireland, and made the work comparatively easy, which Cromwell afterwards so ruthlessly accomplished. According to the Parliament's Declaration, "The Lord hath declared to the world that He is a God of "Mountains and of Valleys, and everywhere a strong Rock, a "mighty defence for those that serve and trust in Him. Against "all persons and in all places He hath appeared for *Us*, as against "the old pretended Malignants and Royalists, all along in "England; against the pretended Covenanters the last year from "and in Scotland; so now of late most seasonably and even "miraculously in Ireland; against both Scots, Renegade English, "and Irish, formerly commanded by Taaff, Preston, Glanicauld, "Inchiquin, and now united and grown into a numerous army "under the Apostate Osmond."

24th August, 1649. A Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament, declaring all persons who have served the Parliament of England in Ireland, and have betrayed their trust, or have or shall adhere to or aid and assist Charles Stuart, son to the late King, to be traitors and rebels.

"Die Veneris, 31st Augusti, 1649. Resolved that Mr. Walter Montagu and Sir Kenelm Digby do depart this nation and not "return upon pain of death."

11th October, 1649. "An Act for a day of Publique "Thanksgiving, to be observed throughout England and "Wales on Thursday, the first of November, 1649."

"For great and wonderful providences towards this Nation," and also to Ireland. "The Lord hath been pleased to publish to "all the world that it is the work of his own hand." The victory at Drogheda (followed by the fearful massacre of the Irish) is one of the "providences" mentioned in the declaration.

"Die Jovis, 11th October, 1649. Resolves of Parliament "touching the subscribing to an engagement by or before "the first of January next; and the names of Refusers or "Neglecters to be returned to the Parliament."

"The Engagement" was, to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same now is without a King or House of Lords.

8th November, 1649. An Order of Parliament appointing the giving of ten pounds to every one who shall bring in a highwayman.

December, 1649. Additional Commissioners appointed for the Assessment for maintenance of the forces.

For the County:—Edmund Arscot, William Wolcomb of Pitton, Maurice Rolls of Meeth, Mr. Chruse of Chruse Morchard, Mr. Hatch of Satterley, Mr. Nottle of Barnstaple, Mr. James Erisey, Robert Dillon of Heanton, John Bury of Burrow.

For Exeter:—Sir Hardress Waller, Knight, Mr. Thomas Ford, Merchant, Mr. John Doon, Major James Pierce, Mr. Henry Prig, Major Thomas Sanders, Governor of Exon.

1st February, 1649-50. “Several passages in a Book printed, entitled *A Fiery Flying Roll*, composed by one *Coppe*, were this “day read.”

Resolved by the Parliament. That the Book entitled *A Fiery Flying Roll*, &c., composed by one *Coppe*, doth contain in it many horrid blasphemies and damnable and detestable opinions, to be abhorred by all good and godly people.

Ordered by the Parliament. That the Book be burnt by the hand of the hangman at the New Pallace Yard at Westminster.

20th February, 1649. Resolves of Parliament accepting the declaration of the Lord General (Fairfax) and thanking him.

22nd February, 1649. An Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales.

8th March, 1649. “Resolved that the Book entitled *The “Doctrine of the Fourth Commandment deformed by Popery, reformed and “restored to its Primitive Purity*, &c., asserting the observation of “the Jewish Sabbath, and condemning the observation of the “Lord’s day as the Christian Sabbath, is erroneous, scandalous, “and prophane, contrary to the practice of the Apostles, and of “all the Christian Churches.” Ordered to be burnt.

12th March, 1649. An Act for the better packing of Butter.

26th March, 1650. An Act for the redemption of captives, taken by Turkish, Moorish, and other Pirates.

9th April, 1650. “Resolved that the arms of the late King be “taken down in all ships of and belonging to the Commonwealth; “as also of all Merchants or others inhabiting within the same.”

The arms to be taken down and defaced in all Churches, Chappels, and all other public places in England and Wales.

19th April, 1650. An additional Act for the better observation of the Lord’s day.

Persons are not to travel after twelve o'clock on Saturday night until after one o'clock on Monday morning, nor any boat, barge, horse, coach, or sedan to be used. No sport or pastime allowed, and parents and guardians of children are held responsible, under penalties, for their good demeanour. The "heathenish vanity" of maypoles to be entirely swept away.

10th May, 1650. **An Act for suppressing detestable sins.**

Incestuous marriages are punishable with death, without benefit of Clergy; the same penalty attaches to the crime of adultery, both as to the offender and the accomplice. Persons convicted of keeping a disreputable house, for the first offence are to be openly whipped and set in the pillory, and there marked with a hot iron in the forehead with the letter B, and afterwards committed to prison, there to work for their living for three years, and then to find bail for good behaviour during life. For the second offence the penalty is death, without benefit of Clergy.

"Die Veneris, 28th Junii, 1650. **An Act for the better preventing and suppressing of prophane swearing and cursing.**"

The penalties, on conviction, which were to be paid to the use of the poor of the parish in which the offence was committed, were, for a Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron, or Lord, thirty shillings; for a Baronet or Knight, twenty shillings; for an Esquire, ten shillings; for a Gentleman, six shillings and eight pence; and for all other persons, three shillings and four pence. The penalties were increased for a second offence, and for a tenth offence the delinquent had to find sureties to be of good behaviour for three years.

9th August, 1650. "An Act against several atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions derogatory to the honor of God and destructive to humane society."

30th August, 1650. Another Order for a general thanksgiving and declaration on account of further victories in Ireland.

17th September, 1650. An Act for a day of thanksgiving, together with a narrative and declaration—the occasion being the victory at Dunbar.

"Die Veneris, 27th September, 1650. **Upon Report from the**

“Committee for suppressing licentious and impious practices, under pretence of Religion, Liberty, &c. The confession of Laurence Clarkson, touching the making and publishing of the impious and blasphemous book called *The Single Eye*, and also Mr. Rainborow’s Carriages.”

The book ordered to be burnt, and Mr Clarkson imprisoned for one month and then outlawed. Mr. Rainborow was deprived of his commission as a Justice of the Peace.

Die Jovis, 20th Februarii, 1650-51. Votes of Parliament touching two books, the one entituled *The Accuser Shamed, or A Pair of Bellows to blow off that dust cast upon John Fry, a Member of Parliament*, by Colonel John Downs, likewise a Member of Parliament. The other entituled *The Clergy in their Colours, or a Brief Character of them*.

Some extracts are given from these books; the first contained a criticism on the Athanasian Creed, and an argumemt that religion not founded upon reason had nothing in it but ignorance and policy. The second was a satire upon the Clergy. They were both ordered to be burnt, and Mr. Fry was disabled from sitting in the House during the session.

12th August, 1651. An Act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his party.

10th September, 1651. A Proclamation for the discovery and apprehending of Charles Stuart, offering £1,000 reward.

20th October, 1651. An Act for a day of “Publique Thanksgiving,” with a narrative of the battle of Worcester.

April, 1652. Votes of Parliament touching the book commonly called *The Racovian Catechism*.

Resolved:—“That the book entituled *Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Polonia, &c.*, commonly called *The Racovian Catechism*, doth contain matters that are blasphemous, erroneous, and scandalous.”*

* This is a summary of the religious tenets of the Socinians, drawn up in the form of a Confession or Catechism. It was published at Racow, in Poland, in the Polish language, in the year 1605. In the year 1609 it was put forth in Latin at Racow, and reprinted in London, in the year 1651. This last is the edition which was condemned by the Parliament in 1652.

All the printed copies to be seized and burnt.

8th October, 1652. “An Act for disabling Delinquents to
“bear Office, or to have any Voice or Vote in Election of
“any Publique Officer.”

In this collection there are fifty-seven broadsheets of Proclamations and Orders of Parliament. The whole work is beautifully printed, mostly in black letter, and is in as good condition as though just issued from the press.



PART II.

LECTURES
DELIVERED AT THE ATHENÆUM, EXETER,
BY THE
VEN. ARCHDEACON WOOLLCOMBE.

LECTURE

*On some of the Ancient Manuscripts and Charters in the custody of the
Dean and Chapter of Exeter.* *

Delivered at the Athenæum, Exeter, March 5th, 1874, by
the Venerable ARCHDEACON WOOLLCOMBE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I own I have felt sundry misgivings while preparing this Lecture, whether the subject itself or my mode of treating it may not be somewhat dry and uninteresting to many among you.

But when I recollect that in the midst of the onward progress of society—the utilitarian temper of the age—the rapid advance of science and art—the singular enlightenment of the world in our day—and the restless anxiety felt everywhere for new and ever fresh discoveries—there still lurks in the minds of most men a fondness for the relics of by-gone ages and a wish to know more about our ancestors, and to investigate the literary remains, which have come down to us from past times; then I cherish the hope that what I shall say this evening may not be devoid of interest and amusement to you, especially as members and friends of a literary society.

I may remark that even in countries where the future is everything—the past hardly anything—you will very often meet with expressions of regret at the consciousness of the want of a past history. I recollect a very intelligent American gentleman, to whom I was showing some of the Ancient Charters and Manuscripts in the archives of our Cathedral, saying to me “Ah! sir, we have nothing in our country to show like this.”

I conceive, therefore, that Englishmen, who can look back upon centuries of national greatness, and who must therefore have intense sympathy with the past, cannot be indifferent to the relics of what might be termed *nostræ cunabula gentis*—I mean the reminiscences of the earlier history of our nation.

The subject of my lecture is “A short account of some of the Ancient Manuscripts and Charters in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.” It may be well that I should first say a few words on the general mass of documents in our archives, before I draw your attention to those few special ones, of peculiar interest from their antiquity and character, referred to.

Let me remark then that the Dean and Chapter have been fortunate in having had, within the last year or two, all the documents in their custody very carefully examined, arranged, catalogued, and indexed by a gentleman, who had already done the same valuable service for the civic authorities of Exeter—I mean Mr. Stuart Moore. And in referring to him, I must speak with the highest appreciation, not only of his care and diligence in the examination of those documents, but specially of his excellent arrangement of them, his most lucidly digested and copious index, and the clearness and accuracy of his classification. It is impossible to say which of these two series of documents (those viz. in the custody of the Civic, and those in the custody of the Ecclesiastical authorities) is the most valuable. Although in the history of our city these two bodies necessarily came into contact with each other on various occasions, yet their respective series of documents of course belong to corporations of different constitutions and moving in different spheres of operation. Both sets of documents are most valuable in their several spheres, as trustworthy exponents of the past history of this ancient City. I may here quote the words of a perfectly impartial authority, Sir J. Maclean, Vice-President of the historical section of the Royal Archæological Institute at its late meeting in Exeter (August, 1873.) His words are these—“In local materials for history Exeter is peculiarly rich. Perhaps the most important depository was the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter, which con-

tained among other documents the valuable record of the Exon Domesday. The City Archives also contained very valuable records from the time of Henry III. down to the present day. Charters were very voluminous among the documents in their custody."

To speak now more especially of those belonging to the Dean and Chapter. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that the number of documents of all sorts in our archives (of course of various degrees of value) amounts to more than 6,000.*

Roughly speaking, they may be classified as follows :

- I.—*Ancient MSS. Books*, some as ancient as the middle of the 10th century.
- II.—*The Fabric Rolls of the Cathedral*, 108 in number, containing very accurate and detailed accounts of moneys received and expended on the building and repairs of the Cathedral. They extend (with some few interruptions) from the year 1279 to 1514, a period of 235 years—a period, too, of extreme interest, as it covers nearly the whole time, during which the Cathedral, or at least its decorated portion, was in process of erection and adornment. They are also very curious, as shewing the cost of materials, and the rate of wages paid to workmen and artificers during this long period, and also the cost of special portions of the Cathedral fittings.
- III.—*Charters and leases of property* formerly belonging to the Dean and Chapter, Court Rolls, &c.
- IV.—*Mandates for the Election and Installation of Dignitaries*, Forms of Congè d'elire for the election of Bishops and so forth.
- V.—*Act Books and Registers of Chapter Proceedings*, commencing in the year 1383, in the reign of Richard II., and extending, with some interruptions, down to the present time.
- VI.—*Statutes of the Cathedral*, enacted at various times.
- VII.—*A large number of Letters, Inventories, Visitation Books*, and other miscellaneous papers of great historical value.

Having given you this cursory view of our records, I proceed to speak particularly of those I have selected for this Lecture.

* See Mr. Stuart Moore's words in his index to the Chapter Catalogue.

I.—I take the Charters, and of these I will refer to three, and those the most ancient, and in many ways the most interesting. Two of these bear date anterior to the erection of Exeter into an Episcopal See in the middle of the 11th century.

(a) The first of them was granted A.D. 993, in the 15th year of the reign of the Saxon King, Ethelred the 2nd, called in history The Unready (wanting in “rede” or counsel). By this charter Ethelred, with the consent of his Bishops and Nobles, constituted Bishop Ealdred as the first Bishop at S. Germans in Cornwall, the See having been previously at Bodmin. Ealdred seems to have had four successors at S. Germans, including Leofric, who held with it the See of Crediton also (as its ninth Bishop) until the year 1050, when the two Sees were merged in that of Exeter under the same Leofric as its first Bishop, the Diocese embracing, as it does at present, the whole of the two western counties of Devon and Cornwall. This charter is attested by the King, and by 20 other signatories, including Bishops, Abbots, Dukes, and Earls.

It is interesting to notice (as illustrative of the customs of the times) the terms in which the assent of several of these signatories is given. Thus, in the case of the King, it is, “I, Ethelred, Monarch of all Britain, have confirmed this charter with the mystery of the Holy Cross.” Another, the Bishop of Durham, says, “I, pleased at the munificence of the King, have given my consent.” Another, “I, Alfuh, joyous and triumphant, have subscribed with mine own hand.” Another, Ealdred himself (the new Bishop), says, “I, at the bidding of the King, have impressed the mark of the Holy Cross,” while the Dukes, the Abbots, and lesser nobles simply give their assent, without any flourish (so to say) like the others.

(b) The second of these Charters is one of Canute, the first of the short line of Danish sovereigns, and bears the date of the second year of his reign, 1018. By it he granted to the Monastery and Cathedral of S. Germans and all its possessions freedom from all royal tribute—or rather, confirmed all the privileges it had previously enjoyed from its establishment by Ethelred. For, during the disturbances conse-

quent on the Danish invasion and the change of dynasty, the possessions of the Church in the western counties had been shaken and weakened, both Devonshire and Cornwall having suffered greatly from that invasion. This charter of re-conveyance of its immunities to the See of S. Germans is attested by Canute himself, by his Queen Elfgiva (or Emma), the widow of Ethelred II., whom he had married, and by 40 other signatories of the same high rank as those who had witnessed the former grant of Ethelred, and in somewhat similar terms of assent. These two charters, as well as the third I am about to mention, are written in Latin, with Saxon letters interspersed, while the names of the signatories are nearly all in Saxon characters. They all have endorsements in Saxon language and characters briefly stating the purport of each charter. The names of the signatories are written by the same scribe who wrote the charters themselves, and their attestation is certified by a simple dot after their names.

(c) We come now to the most interesting of the three, that by which the See of Exeter was constituted by the son of Ethelred II. (whom I have already mentioned); viz., Edward the Confessor, in whom the ancient line of the Saxon Kings was restored in the year 1043. Edward had in the year 1046 bestowed the Sees of S. Germans and Crediton on his Chaplain Leofric,* who is said to have descended from an illustrious family in Burgundy, and to have been reared and educated in Lorraine. He is described as a man of modest life and conversation, of great energy and zeal in the performance of his Episcopal functions, in visiting his Diocese, in instructing his clergy, in promoting the building of Churches, and in earnestly preaching the Word of God to the people committed to his charge. In consequence of the constant incursions of pirates, who devastated either province of his See, Cornwall and Devon, he took measures

* See Collier Ecc. Hist., vol. i, 517; and Dugdale Monast., vol. ii., 516, who gives an extract from an old MS. in the Bodleian recording the account:—(1) Of the erection of several Bishoprics in the South of England, among them Exeter; (2) an account of the nomination of Leofric to Crediton, A.D. 1046; (3) of his installation at Exeter; (4) of his death and burial in 1076.

to get his Episcopal throne transferred from the "little village," as it was then called, of Crediton, to the well-fortified town of Exeter, whence he might with the greater security administer his Diocese. Edward granted his request, and this charter is the record, and the instrument of the establishment (in the person of Leofric) of the See of Exeter, of which our present Bishop is the 61st in succession. By this charter the ancient conventual Church of S. Peter was transformed into a Cathedral Church and an Episcopal See. On Leofric's translation the eight monks remaining here were removed to Westminster, and a number of secular canons placed here in their stead. The date of the charter is A.D. 1050, *i.e.*, 824 years ago. It is of considerable length, reciting at its commencement (as was usual in these ancient documents), in the first place, the goodness of God in the constitution of the world and all that is in it, the calamities of the times, and the religious motives which influenced the King to grant the charter; and then, in the second place, the intention and purpose of the charter itself, ending with maledictions on those who should attempt to violate its provisions. By this grant all the possessions belonging to the former conventual Church are given over to the Canons, who succeeded to it. Exeter is raised to be the one Episcopal seat for the whole Diocese (in lieu of S. Germans and Crediton), and this "on account of the fewness and wasted condition of goods and persons there," the pirates having been able to devastate the Churches of Cornwall and Crediton, and the city of Exeter being deemed to be a better safeguard against enemies.

The only portion of this charter, which I will quote in its exact words, is the account of the actual installation of Leofric by the King himself in the then Church of S. Peter. It runs thus:—"I, therefore, Edward the King do lay this charter with mine own hand on the altar of S. Peter, and leading Leofric the prelate by his right hand (my Queen Edgytha leading him by his left hand) I do place him in the Episcopal seat, in the presence of my Earls and noble kinsmen and Chaplains, with the assent and consent of the Archbishops Eadwin and Ealfric, together with the others, whose names will be written out at the bottom of this charter."

The document is attested by Edward himself, by the two Archbishops, by three Bishops, six Earls, three Abbots, three Presbyters, three Nobles, and nine "Ministers," as they are styled, probably secular clergy of some sort, answering to the Chaplains of the King mentioned in the body of the deed.

The style of the attestations is somewhat similar to those of the earlier documents already mentioned. Thus, the King says: "I confirm this grant by this warranty or bond." The Archbishop says: "I confirm it." Another Bishop says: "I deem it worthy." Another, "I testify to it," while the Nobles and Earls simply assent thus: "I, Tosti, Noble," "I, Odda, Noble," "I, Godwin, Earl," and so forth. All the names have the usual dot marked against them, probably by their own hands. The endorsement on the back of the deed is in Anglo-Saxon, and runs thus:—"This is the grant to the Bishopric in Devonshire, which Edward decreed with the counsel of his Witan, for his soul's redemption, into the Bishop's See at Exeter, to Leofric, Bishop, and his successors in perpetual inheritance." Among the names of Nobles and Earls attesting the charter, and some of them, it may be, present on the occasion, appear those of men famous in their generation, as Earl Godwin; Earl Harold (his son), the last of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, who fell at Hastings; Tostig, Harold's brother; Earls Leofric and Siward, the former probably the Earl of Mercia, the latter the Earl of Northumbria, who figures as one of the characters in "Macbeth."*

Let us think for a moment on the scene that must have presented itself at that time in the ancient Church of S. Peter. The ceremony of enthronization was performed by the two royal personages, assisted by their attendant train of high functionaries, both civil and ecclesiastical, surrounded, of course, by the population of ancient Exeter, crowding the streets to witness the procession, and pressing into the Church to view their sovereign,

* For Godwin, see Sharon Turner Anglo-Saxons vol. ii., 332, 358.

„ Tostig	„	369, 370.
„ Harold	„	332, 372.
„ Leofric	„	358, 369.
„ Siward	„	368.

and to greet with due acclamation their chief pastor on his solemn entry into his new Cathedral Church.

Although, as I have already said, the installation of Leofric took place in the early conventual Church of S. Peter, yet a memorial of that event exists still in our present Cathedral, which occupies the site, though in much larger dimensions, of that earlier Church. When you next visit the Cathedral you should notice three small heads, which are sculptured just over the three seats in the beautiful sedilia. The central head is clearly that of a Bishop with his mitre, those on the right and left being a male and female head. These heads represent respectively Leofric, Edward the King, and his Queen Edgytha. You will also observe three niches in the upper stage of the sedilia. These formerly contained statues, the sockets into which they were fixed being still there. And there is every reason to believe that these statues were those of the Bishop, the King and the Queen. We have in our chapter records references to these monumental structures. Among certain requests, made in the year 1638 of the Dean and Chapter, by one of the residentiaries, Mr. Helyar, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, is the following:—"It is desired that at the common charge of the Church an ancient monument contiguous to the altar, set up in memory of King Edward the Confessor their first founder, of Edgytha his Queen, and Leofricus the first Bishop (which is much defaced) may be repaired and decorated."* In the following year, 1639, an injunction, dated June 7th, was sent to the Dean and Chapter by Archbishop Laud on matters brought before his Court of Audience,† and among other orders is the following:—"Whereas the ancient monuments of King Edward the Confessor, of Edgytha his Queen, and Leofric first Bishop of Exeter, have, by injury of time, been much neglected and defaced, it is hereby ordered that the same shall forthwith be repaired and

* In a document entitled "The Difference between the Dean and Chapter of Exon and Mr. Archdeacon Helyar," one of the residentiaries, dated 1638. I do not find it in our archives, but it is quoted at length in the proceedings in the Chapter House on the Exeter Reredos case, p. 141.

† Recorded in Lyttleton's "History of the Fabric," p. 45, and in the Registers of the Chapter of 1639 (No. 3,601), p. 304.

beautified, and so kept from time to time clean and decent.' This matter may have been brought before the Archbishop by Archdeacon Helyar, who had appealed to him on other points in the previous year. On looking through the Acts of Chapter, I found the following, dated August 20, 1639:—"Imprimis,—They ordered that the monuments of King Edward the Confessor should be with all convenient speed repaired." By other documents of the Chapter* it is shown that the Dean and Chapter complied with Laud's injunction, but the heads are now in a defaced condition, and the statues are gone.

But we have sufficient evidence to show when they were removed. Dr. Oliver, in his "History of the City of Exeter," (p. 123) quotes the following words of a contemporary writer, who records the ravages committed in the Cathedral by the army of Fairfax, after the siege of Exeter in 1646:—"They pluck down and deface the statue of an ancient Queen, the wife of Edward the Confessor, mistaking it for a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary." There can be little doubt that this was one of the statues in these niches, and that the other two, though not particularly named by the writer, were destroyed at the same time.

II.—I now pass on to the second part of my subject, *i.e.*, the MSS. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, but I can only treat of one of these on the present occasion, but that one the most ancient and, in many ways, the most interesting of them all, except perhaps the "Exeter Domesday." It is a very ancient Anglo-Saxon MS., commonly called "Codex Exoniensis." It is one of several books given by Leofric in 1050 to his new Cathedral Church, which he found entirely destitute of books, except a few tattered and dilapidated service books, which had been in use by the clergy of the Conventual Church, whom he had displaced.† It is the only one, I believe, of his gifts, which

* These documents are numbered 3,783, 3,787. "Disbursed by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter about repairing of King Edward the Confessor's seat as followeth, since the 24th June, 1639, out of the tenth part of the fines, &c." The amount of the cost in the matter is entered as £22 4s. 9d.

† See Dugdale, vol. ii. 528, from the donation of Leofric in the Saxon MS.

remains in our possession, the others being now in the Bodleian, and some, it is said, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Among those in the Bodleian is a very beautiful and ancient Missal, of the date A.D. 969, given by Leofric to his Cathedral Church.* It is a very valuable document, not only on account of its great antiquity, being more than 900 years old, but because, besides the ancient Service for the Holy Communion, (which is strictly the meaning of the title "Missal") it also contains the original offices from which very large portions of the Services in our Book of Common Prayer are drawn. For that reason it forms one of the authorities, to which writers on our Prayer Book refer, and no doubt is the book called by Liturgical writers "The use of Exeter."† Palmer, in his "Dissertations on the Antiquities of the English Ritual" (in which he makes very copious references to this Service Book) numbers it among the ancient monuments of the English Church, as existing before the Conquest, and remarks that the Liturgical books of the Anglo-Saxon Church were nothing else than transcripts of the Sacramentary of Gregory, which was brought over by Augustine and his companions at the end of the 6th century. So that this Book of Divine Offices, though dated A.D. 969, represents a far more ancient collection of Services, which had been used in this country from the days of Augustine the first Archbishop of Canterbury. This Missal was in our archives till (with very many other MSS., amounting to 132 in all) it was sent to the Bodleian Library in 1602 by the Dean and Canons of the day,‡ who, I venture to say (and in this I shall probably have your concurrence) ought to have jealously retained in their keeping and transmitted to us, their successors, the books entrusted to

* *Thorpe Codex Exon.* Pref. i. *Hicks* (Dissert. Epis., p. 12), speaks of it as *Missale quoddam pulcherrime scriptum*. See also *Collier Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 19. *Oliver Hist. of Cathedral*, p. xii. and p. 376-7. In the Catalogue of Leofric's donations are mentioned "Duo completa Missalia," Dugd. ii. 527.

† *Procter* on P. B., p. 3, quotes Grandisson, who, in his seventh statute for the Church at Ottery, speaks of having drawn certain rules for it as to Divine Service, "ex Exoniæ et Sarum usibus." This Missal must have been the one he speaks of.

‡ *Wood's Hist. et Antiq. Oxon Lib.* 11, p. 51. "Anno proximo (1602) donaverunt Decanus et Canonici Exonienses 132 Tractatus MSS."

their care, and especially the gifts of their first founder and Bishop.

It is well that the Exeter MS., one of the most curious and interesting of those gifts, is still in our archives.* It is a miscellaneous collection of singularly interesting Anglo-Saxon poetry. Of two learned writers on Anglo-Saxon literature,† one, Dr. G. Hickes, writing in 1703, speaks of it as “Nobilissimum carminum Saxonorum miscellaneum,” the other, Benjamin Thorpe, who edited the MS., in 1824, with an English rythmical translation,‡ describes it as “an unique and most interesting relic of past ages.” I will first describe the MS., and then speak of its contents. It consists of a small folio volume, with 130 leaves of good vellum, written on both sides, in very clear, large, and beautifully formed Anglo-Saxon characters. It is supposed to have been the work of the 10th century, possibly 50 or 100 years before it was given by Leofric. Some leaves are deficient at the beginning and it would seem also at the end of the book, and 13 leaves at the end have been seriously defaced, apparently by some fluid, which has obliterated a good deal of the writing, but on the whole it is in excellent preservation and the colour of the ink is remarkably persistent. In the beginning of the volume are bound up with it seven leaves, unconnected with the MS., relics doubtless from the leaves of other MSS., containing on both sides copious and very interesting entries, some in Latin, but the larger number in Anglo-Saxon, written by different scribes, most of them subsequent to, but not very much later than, the date of the gift. The first two leaves contain the account of Leofric’s donations, apparently belonging to some book on religious matters, for the account begins thus:—“Hic ostenditur in *hoc Christi codice*, quid Leofricus contulerit Sancti Petri monasterio Excestriensi,” &c. These fly leaves (so to call them) contain records of various sorts.

* This MS. is especially named in the list of the gifts of Leofric on one of the fly leaves of the Codex.

† *Hickes* Dissert. Epis., p. 14, *Thorpe* p. 4.

‡ A copy of this edition is in the Exeter Institution.

(1) We have a record of certain benefactions by Leofric to his new Cathedral, consisting of lands, which he had recovered for, or had bestowed out of his own private resources upon, his Cathedral; of vestments, of Church ornaments and of books; of these last, 57 different works are enumerated, and among them this very volume is entered as "One great English book on various subjects, composed in verse." In this same entry it is stated that when Leofric made this donation, comprehending estates in land, he found belonging to the former monastery no more than two "hides" (*i.e.*, 240 acres) of land at Ide, with only seven head of cattle thereon. The entry is in Anglo-Saxon, and from the handwriting and language it has been held to be nearly co-eval with the gift it records. Another benefaction is recorded of books, ornaments, relics, vessels for Service, &c., made by one Leowine, a Canon of Exeter, soon after the death, in 1073, of Osbert, or Osbern, the second Bishop of Exeter.

(2) There is a curious entry of a certain confraternity or brotherhood established in the neighbourhood of Exeter in the time of Bishop Osbern, of which the Bishop and Canons and other religious men were members, its object being the promotion of good will and charity, and also that every family should at Easter in every year pay one penny, and on the death of every member of the Guild, whether man or woman, one penny, for the soul's scot. This was to go to the Canons, who were to perform the necessary rites on behalf of the dead.* A list is given of the members of this "gildscape." I have counted no fewer than 305 names, arranged in fourteen subdivisions, as though they were affiliated societies, denoting the places where the members lived. Among them are the following:—Exeter, Woodbury (two lists), Colyton (two lists), Clist (two), Bridford, Nutwell, Sidmouth, Whitstone, Axmouth. Brotherhoods of this sort seem to have been common at that time. A record is given of another established at Exeter, containing a further detail of the particular acts of good will

* A copy of the original document in Anglo-Saxon, with a translation, is given in Hickee's Dissert. Epis., p. 19, and it is quite possible that the original document was once in the possession of the Canons.

required of the members. One of these requirements was that "If any associate speaks uncivilly or harshly to his fellow associate, or treats him badly, he shall compensate for it by the payment of 30 denarii," a considerable fine for those days.

(3) A third set of entries is that of the Manumission or Emancipation of Serfs. Of these I will read you one, written in Latin, issued from the Chapter of Exeter in the eighth year of King Stephen, A.D. 1143. It curiously illustrates the formal, half legal, half ecclesiastical character of the proceeding.* It runs thus:—"The Chapter of S. Peter in Exeter," [observe, not the Dean and Chapter, for the dignity of Dean was not constituted till A.D. 1225] "to all sons of the Church, Clergy, and Laity, health in Christ. That which we have determined should go forth to the knowledge of many, we have thought well to commit to writing, for the information both of those who are now alive and of those who shall live hereafter. Let therefore the present generation and all posterity know that Rand Avenel, in the name of God and for the benefit of his own and his parents' souls, has, before the King's justice in the hundred of the city of Exeter, emancipated from all yoke of serfdom, this Edric, son of Leowine, of Alphington, so that from this day forward he shall be and remain a free man, just as though he had been free-born, and that he may go or stay whithersoever or wheresoever he will. He shall owe no duty of service or freedom to any of his heirs [*i.e.*, his former master's heirs] or their heirs, or to any other person whatsoever, but to God alone, to Whom all things are subject. But, if any one of his heirs (which I do not believe will happen), or any other adverse person shall infringe, or invalidate this grant of freedom, let him be subject to the divine judgment, and being severed from the body of the Church let him be an alien." This acquittance was made in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1143, in the reign of King Stephen, when Rodbert was Bishop,†

* "Usually the slave was set free before the altar, or in the Church porch, and the Gospel book bore written on its margins the record of his emancipation," Greene's *Hist. of the English People*, p. 54.

† *i.e.*, Robert Chichester, the fourth Bishop, from 1138 to 1155.

and it was attested by the undermentioned, viz., Walter, William, Hugo, and Rodbert (the four Archdeacons of the Diocese), and others. I presume that the liberated serf held in his own possession the actual deed of manumission, of which the entry in the MS. is a copy. This instrument is one of two which are in Latin. All the rest, and there are several, are in Anglo-Saxon, and therefore doubtless of an earlier date. Several manumissions of similar character in Anglo-Saxon are entered in fly leaves in the Missal of Leofric in the Bodleian. (See Hickeys Diss. Ep., p. 19.)

Let us now pass on to the contents of the Codex itself. It is, as I have already said, a collection of miscellaneous poems of very various character. They may be thus roughly summarized:

(a) A series of Religious Pieces, covering a little more than one quarter part of the book, on some of the events of Scripture History, principally of the New Testament, and on some of the prominent doctrines of the Christian Faith.

(b) Legends of two Saints—S. Guthlac and S. Juliana.

(c) A large collection of Riddles, no fewer than 93.*

(d) Many other Poems on various subjects, among them the most curious and interesting are the following:—

(1) The Scald's or Ancient Minstrel's tale of his travels in various foreign lands, mainly, if not entirely those of the northern

* This is one specimen from Thorpe's Translation. Is the answer
The Snow or The Mantle of Gossamer?

Me the humid field
Wondrously frigid
From its womb
First brought forth.
I knew not that I was wrought
With wool-fleeces,
With hairs, by art profound,
In my mind's thoughts.
I have no twined woof,
Nor have I a warp,
Nor through force of multitudes
Does the thread crackle to me.
Nor at me snorting
Does the shuttle pass;

Nor me shall anywhere
The weaver's rod beat.
Nor do worms me weave
By the powers of nature,
Those, which the yellow silk
For garments produce.
Yet nath'less they will me
Widely o'er earth
Call before men
A delightful vestment.

Say in sooth utterances,
Through skilful thoughts,
Wise in cunning words,
What this vestment is?

portion of Europe, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Scandinavia. A considerable number of these northern districts are enumerated with the names of their respective chiefs and rulers.

(2) On the Endowments and pursuits of men, an interesting poem, inasmuch as it exhibits, in a very detailed form, the employments and amusements of men in those early days, their handicrafts, their trades, their field sports, their skill at sea, their position in the social body, their different gifts whether moral or intellectual or bodily, their activities in the several occupations in life.

(3) Another poem is on the Various fortunes of Men, containing also a pitiful lamentation over their misfortunes. It is a chequered description, sometimes gay, and sometimes grave, of their lots in life, and of some of the manifold modes of death by which men are removed into the world of spirits. The key to the poem is given at the outset, where, after speaking of the new-born infant, and of its growth through the period of childhood under the fostering care of its parents, the poet adds:

"God only knows
What to it waxing
Winters will bring."

(4) Another poem is a Father's Instruction to his Son. This is a very beautiful piece, as delineating the sense of parental discipline, the principles of sage and wise instruction, of religious as well as moral training, which animated the author.*

(5) Another very touching poem is the Complaint of a friendless Exile in a foreign land, sighing over his solitary exile, wanderings, and many hardships while in search of his lord, whom he had lost, and from whom he was far and hopelessly separated.

(6) Another, and a thought-stirring piece, is that of A Departed Soul's address to the Body it had inhabited when on earth, the first portion containing the supposed colloquy of a condemned soul—the second, that of a blessed soul—with their respective earthly tabernacles they had just quitted.

* Comparing this with Polonius' advice to Laertes (*Hamlet*, Act 1, scene 3), it is striking to notice the shrewd wisdom, and keen knowledge of the world and of human nature in the latter, as set against the quiet, grave, pensive religiousness of the former.

The whole collection was edited in the year 1842 for the Society of Antiquarians, arranged in a poetic form, and accompanied with an English translation in the same form by Benjamin Thorpe, to whom the MS. was lent by the Dean and Chapter.

The Lecture was closed with a short description of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and with the recitation of several portions of the above mentioned poems.

LECTURE

ON THE

"EXETER DOMESDAY."

Delivered at the Athenæum, March 11th, 1875, by the Venerable
ARCHDEACON WOOLLCOMBE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Last year I drew your attention to a passage in the Ecclesiastical history of our city, as exhibited in the Charters of Ethelred, of Canute, and of Edward the Confessor the founder of the See of Exeter, and in the gifts to the Cathedral of Leofric its first Bishop. My present lecture will deal with a passage in the civil history of our nation and of our county, though, or rather, because the record, on which it turns, is preserved among the Cathedral Archives. In drawing your attention this evening to the MS. which is called "The Exeter Domesday" I shall have first to speak of the General Domesday, or Survey of the whole of England, and then of the particular document "The Exeter Domesday," which has been in the custody of the Dean and Chapter for a period of nearly 790 years. The materials for both portions of the lecture are contained in the third volume of the report on the General Domesday, published in the year 1816 by His Majesty's Commissioners on the public records of the kingdom, 33 years after the publication of the printed copy of the Domesday itself in 1783. A copy of this report, in four folio volumes, is in the Chapter Library, and another in the library of the Institution. These volumes contain a complete copy of the

Exchequer Domesday and of the Provincial Domesdays, which have come down to us (four in number), together with very copious introductions on all these records by Sir Henry Ellis, the principal librarian at that time of the British Museum, introductions full of minute and various and interesting details. Another edition of the introduction to the General Domesday was published by Sir H. Ellis in the year 1833, containing still further information on the matter. In his preface he speaks of the Domesday Book "As a mine of information, from which the historian may extract results, which are in vain sought from other sources. Illustrations of the most important and the most certain kind upon our ancient institutions, services and tenures of land are still to be drawn from it. And its metal cannot be exhausted by the perseverance of any single labourer." And Mr. Freeman, the historian, says of it that "The mass of personal and local detail which may be recovered from its incidental enteries is utterly amazing." But into such researches as these I have no power to enter. All I can do is to present you with a slight and sketchy account of the document itself, and of the particular record which forms the title of this paper.

First then on the "General Domesday." This is one of the most ancient and most important records of England that we possess. It contains an accurate survey of the lands of all the English counties, with the exception of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, and is the register, from which judgment was to be given upon the extent, the value, the character, and the tenure of the lands therein described, and of the services, whether in money or otherwise, due from the owners thereof, the primary object of the survey being to raise a tax on the land for the necessary requirements of the King. The reason why these four counties were omitted is stated to be, that they had suffered so much from the Conqueror's revenge,* in 1070, for their long continued resistance, that it was impossible to take any exact survey of

* "This harrying lay as an especial burden upon his spirit as he lay on his death bed." Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv., 709.

them. Besides, in the case of Durham, the Bishop of that See held the position of a sovereign in his own palatinate, and it is thought that, in consequence of his exclusive rights, the Bishopric of Durham was passed over, as containing no rights which could be claimed by the King, without trenching on those which had been possessed by its bishops through a long series of years, even from the days of Alfred.

The origin of the name "Domesday" is uncertain. By some ancient writers it was said to be so called, "Because the book was laid up in the King's Treasury in the church of Winchester, in a place called *Domus Dei* (the house of God), and thence shortly "Domesday." It is so cited in a deed in our Cathedral Archives, of the date A.D. 1313, to which I shall have occasion to refer by-and-bye. Others give this explanation—that the name signifies "The book of Judgment, or Doom, Doomsday, by a metaphor, for, as the judgment of the last great day cannot be evaded, so, if a contention should arise in the realm on any matter contained therein, an appeal to the book will decide the quarrel with conclusive evidence." This may appear to be the most probable account of the title.

The book itself contains (as I have said) the Great Census or Survey of England. It was made by the order of William the Conqueror about 20 years after the Conquest. There is a remarkable passage, furnished by the contemporary Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1085, which gives the motives for the formation of the survey, and assigns the time of its commencement to that year, the 19th after the Conquest. The following is the translation of the passage: "A.D. 1085. In this year a rumour arose, and it was spoken of as true, that Canute King of Denmark,* son of King Sweyn, had directed his thoughts towards England, with a view of subjugating it with the aid of Robert, Count of Flanders. When William King of England, who was then residing in Normandy (for he held both England and Normandy), was apprised of this, he came to England with a larger army (both of horse and foot) than had ever before sought this land, and

* He was a grandson of the Canute who held the throne of England from 1016-1035.

men began to wonder how such an army could be supported in it. But the King caused his troops to be distributed throughout the land among his vassals, and required that they should provide for them, each in proportion to the territory which he possessed. The inhabitants, in consequence, suffered severely ; the King also caused the lands bordering on the sea-coast to be laid waste, so that the enemy, if they landed, might find no supplies. But when he ascertained that the invaders were unable to make their intended expedition, he sent back to Normandy a part of his army, and kept the remainder here, until the end of the winter. At mid-winter the King was at Gloucester, with his ‘Witan,’ or Parliament, and there held his Court for the space of five days. And afterwards, the Archbishop and Clergy held their Synod for three days, when they chose three of the King’s chaplains (Normans) to be Bishops, one for London, one for Norwich, and one for Chester. After this the King held a great council, and had grave discussions with his nobles about this land, as to how it was peopled, and by what men. He therefore sent his Commissioners over all England into every shire and county, and caused enquiry to be made, how many hundred hides of land there were in each county, and what land and cattle belonged to the King, and what amount of yearly dues he ought to have therefrom. He ordered also that it should be stated how much land his Archbishops and their Suffragan Bishops, his Abbots, and his Earls held, and further, how much land and cattle each landholder possessed, and what was its money value. And so very exactly did he require this survey to be made, that there was not a single hide, or a single virgate of land, nor even (it is a shame to tell, though he thought no shame to do it) not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine passed over, that was not set down in the survey. And all these matters were afterwards written down, and brought to him.” This is the account of the Saxon Chronicle, and Mr. Freeman, the historian of the Conquest, adds :—“Such was the spirit—a spirit which has not wholly died out in our own day—with which Englishmen then looked on this narrow spying out of their homes and of their goods.” Another account describes the object of the Survey in somewhat

different terms, but to the same effect:—"That the King sent Commissioners (Justiciaries, as they are called) through all the counties of England to make diligent enquiry how many acres of land there were in them, how much would suffice for the maintenance of a soldier; also as to the full value of the towns, villages, and hamlets, and how many oxen were required for the cultivation of each hide of land."

Next, as to the mode in which the Inquisition was carried out. It is thus described by Sir Henry Ellis:—"The Inquisitors, upon the oath of the Sheriffs, the lords of each manor, together with that of their Francigenæ (*i.e.*, the foreigners of their retinue), the reeves of every hundred, the bailiffs, and villans (*i.e.*, tenants of a very inferior kind, barely removed from the condition of slaves) of every village, were to enquire into the name of the place, who held it in the time of King Edward (*i.e.*, Edward the Confessor), who was its present possessor, how many hides of land there were in the manor, how many carrucates in demesne, how many villans, how many cottagers and serfs, how many freemen, what quantity of wood of meadow and pasture land there was in it, what mills and fishponds, how much added or taken away, what was the gross value in King Edward's time, what was the present value, what each freeman or sochman (*i.e.*, inferior landowners holding under the soc, or franchise of the lord) has or had." Before I pass on I will explain two terms used in the above extract. (1) The carrucate. This was equivalent to plough-land (from "*carruca*," which signifies the "plough and the team,") and indicates as much arable land as could be managed with one plough and the beasts belonging thereto in a year, having meadow, pasture, and houses for the householders and cattle belonging to it. (2) Lands in demesne were lands kept by the lords in their own occupation.

Further, this enquiry as to the value of the lands was to be triply estimated. First, as it stood in the time of the Confessor; then, as it was when bestowed by King William at the Conquest; and thirdly, as its value stood at the making of the Survey, 20 years later. The jurors were, moreover, to state (no unimportant matter in William's

eye) whether any advance could be made in the value, for William had already, two years before, imposed a heavy tax on the conquered territory of 72 pennies (six shillings) on every hide of land in England, and one of the objects of the Great Survey, doubtless, was that this tax should be fairly and accurately levied. Accordingly, the Inquisitors went on the execution of their commission, and it is gathered from various passages in the Survey itself, that by the multiplication of subordinate inquests the work was completed in a very short time, within a year from the giving of the order. The order was issued at mid-winter of 1085-6, and at the end of the second volume of Domesday is this entry:—"In the year 1086 from the Incarnation of the Lord, and in the 20th year of the reign of William, this Survey was made throughout all the counties of England," though, as might be expected, not without serious disturbances, and in some places loss of life, owing to the opposition of the people. From a transcript or abridgement of these breviates, or returns from the different counties, the Great Registrar was afterwards formed, which has ever since been known by the name of "Domesday." The returns themselves were sent by the Commissioners to Winchester, and these were classified and methodised and entered in a register consisting of two volumes, such as we now have it. Soon after its completion it was removed to Westminster and kept in the Exchequer, till in 1696 it was deposited among other valuable records in the Chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, and, when the Chapter-house was restored a few years ago, it was removed thence with the rest of the records to a more appropriate depository.

I now pass on to the second and principal part of my present lecture—viz., "The Exeter Domesday," one of the most valuable and interesting of the MSS. in our custody. There are, as I have already said, three of these provincial or supplementary records of the Great Survey remaining besides our own. The first is entitled, "The Ely Inquiry," a document of the same kind with the "Exeter Domesday," and taken, as the "Exeter Domesday" was, at the time of the Great Survey. This "Ely Inquiry" relates to the property belonging to the Monastery

of Ely, recorded afterwards in the volumes of the "Domesday." The MS. of this is in the British Museum, and it is at least as old as the 12th century. The second is the "Winton or Winchester Domesday," consisting of two parts, the first made at some time between 1107 and 1128, by order of King Henry the First—*i.e.*, about thirty years after the Great Survey; the second made in the year 1148 by order of the then Bishop of Winchester—*i.e.*, nearly sixty years after the Great Survey. This second record refers only to certain special topics of inquiry, independent of the general returns for the county of Hants, which were made at the time of the Great Survey. The MS. of this record is preserved in the Archives of the London Society of Antiquaries. And the third provincial record is called "The Boldon Book," a special Survey of the Palatinate of Durham, made in the year 1183, nearly 100 years after the Great Survey, by order of Hugh Pudsey, nephew of King Stephen, Bishop of Durham. It probably had its name from Boldon, a parish near Sunderland, where it was either compiled, or according to the census of whose inhabitants the other manors in that Bishopric were regulated. Three copies of this book are said to exist, one of which is in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

You will easily understand the comparative value of our book over the other three, when I state that in the folio volume, which contains the printed copy of the four, out of the 587 pages covered by it, the "Exeter Domesday" occupies 493, leaving only 94 for the other three, of which 35 belong to the Ely Inquisition, 34 to the Winchester Book, and 24 to the Boldon Book. The entries in all the four Provincial Records, as well as in the Great Domesday throughout, are in Latin (the language of the Norman conquerers), without any intermixture of the old Saxon or English—the tongue of the conquered race. Of the "Exeter Domesday," Sir H. Ellis gives the following account:—"This is the first of the four in point of time. Its main body presents a description of the western parts of the kingdom, comprising the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall (though the returns for Wilts are very scanty); and it is supposed, as far as it extends, to contain an exact transcript

of the original rolls, or returns made by the Conqueror's Commissioners, at the time of the general Survey, from which the great Domesday itself was compiled." Its date may therefore be set down at 1086, A.D.—"It is written on vellum, in the form of a thick book of small folio size, containing 532 double pages. The skins of which it is composed vary in number of leaves from one to twenty—the lands of each of the more considerable tenants beginning a new sheet—and those of almost every tenant a new page. In the transcription of the record, different scribes appear to have been employed in different parts, as is evident from the variation in the mode of writing, the marks and abbreviations; and the record itself in more than one passage shows that different persons were employed about it, as *e.g.*, in one leaf is an entry, 'This Richard wrote,'—in another, 'So far wrote R.'" The whole is written, and very beautifully written in Latin, with an immense number of abbreviations and contractions, and single letters standing for words, but when you have once got the clue to the cipher, it is very easily read. For what especial purpose, at whose instigation, or by whom, this almost perfect transcript of the Original Rolls was made (or whether they may have been the Original Rolls themselves, sent back to the metropolis of the West, as, from an examination of the MS., seems to me very probable*) we know not; but we certainly owe our ancestors a debt of gratitude for their preservation of them, for it is a remarkable fact, that with the exception of the other three fragmentary documents I have named, two of which are of much later date, this is the only provincial record in existence, the only one remaining of those which were made for the Great Survey.

There is no authentic account as to how the book came to be deposited among the Cathedral Archives. But there is an entry on a fly leaf (bound up with the MS.) by Dean

* These facts may render this probable:—(1) Some of the folios are smaller than the rest; (2) The writing varies on the same pages; (3) There are numerous interlineations, and erasures both by ink marks, and by scratchings out in many folios; (4) There are numerous marginal entries in different coloured ink and handwriting from that of the pages in which they lie.

Lyttleton in the year 1750, in which he gives this as the probable reason—"As this transcript includes the lands and possessions of the chief religious houses, and great Norman barons within the four Western Counties, it was lodged in the Cathedral Church of Exeter, as a place of the greatest safety and of easy access, being the metropolis of the West, and consequently much resorted to by the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties." Sir H. Ellis thus describes its later history:—"About the beginning of the 15th century, the sheets of which this MS. is composed were bound up in two volumes, and paged, but very carelessly, and without any particular view of arrangement. Preparatory to the publication of the volumes on the Domesday by the Record Commissioners in 1816, the sheets were again separated, and were arranged in the order in which they were printed, following, as near as the Record would permit, the plan of the Exchequer Domesday, and the whole is now handsomely bound in one thick volume, measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$." For the purpose of that publication an exact transcript was most carefully made by one, whose name must ever be held in honour and respect by the citizens of Exeter; by one for whose memory the Dean and Chapter of Exeter cherish a most affectionate regard, and I myself especially so, from the uniform kindness which I ever received at his hands from the time of my boyhood to the day of his death; their late Chapter Clerk, which office he held for a period of no less than 50 years. You can well imagine the time, and labour, and patience which the late Mr. Ralph Barnes must have bestowed on making such a transcript, and correcting the proof impression by the original. In the course of this work Mr. Barnes discovered that one of the leaves of the MS. had been cut out, and he wrote in pencil on the preceding leaf, the words—"Page 233 cut out, and no doubt stolen, 1810, R. Barnes." It is said that he advertised the circumstance in the newspapers as a sort of forlorn hope that it might somehow or other one day turn up. Strange to say, the missing leaf was discovered, and is now in its place in the

MS.; and a printed memorandum on the 327th page of the printed copy records its restoration in these words: "Upon reference to fol. 347 of the MS., from whence the Exon Domesday was published, it will be seen that a leaf of the Original was wanting—this leaf had evidently been cut out—and little or no hope was entertained that it would ever have been discovered. The recovery of it is owing to W. C. Trevelyan, Esq. That gentleman, on arranging some ancient evidences among the Archives of his grandfather Sir John Trevelyan, Bart., fortunately met with the deficient leaf, and lost no time in transmitting it to Mr. Barnes, who restored it to its proper place. From circumstances communicated by Mr. Trevelyan, which attended the discovery, there is reason to believe that the leaf had been in the possession of his family at least as far back as the year 1656."

I have already said that this MS. is supposed to be the transcript of the original returns, if not the original returns themselves, sent in to the King from the five Western Counties. From them was extracted all the information required for the purposes contemplated in the order for the Survey, which had to do solely with the extent and value of the lands, the taxation which could be imposed on them, and the services due from the owners of those lands, and the persons who inhabited the several manors. But the Exeter Domesday contains (as no doubt was the case with all the original returns from the rest of England), a very large amount of other information, obtained in compliance with the original order, but which it was deemed unnecessary to transfer into the final digest. Hence arises the especial value of these provincial records. I will mention a few particulars of that information, which may interest you, before I read some of the entries themselves. The first portion then of our Exeter Domesday relates to the aggregate taxation of the hundreds, or civil divisions of the counties, stating the total number of the hides in each division, the number held by the King, his barons, and his nobles, whether in Church or State, with an enumeration (1) of those for which the tax was not paid, (2) of those for

which it was paid, (3) the tax in arrear, and the reasons for its so remaining, and (4) the amount retained out of their receipts by the collectors in payment for their work. I have compared the names and number of the Hundreds of the county of Devon in the MS. with its present divisions, and find that there are 32 (*i.e.*, one less than at present) mentioned in it; and of these, 22 still retain their original names. The collectors of the tax are often mentioned, especially those for the county of Devon. In the majority of instances, they are called by the curious title of "Fegadri" (the derivation of which I have not been able to discover*); in some instances by the title of "Hundremanni"—manifestly the "Hundred's-men" (the collectors appointed to collect the tax for each hundred); and, at the close of the entry for each hundred, it is stated that they retained the tax on one hide of land in payment for their services. Again, at the close of the returns for all the hundreds in Devonshire are given the names of the persons who took the produce of the levy to the King's Treasury at Winchester, in these words:—"The King receives no tax on three hides, one virgate, and one ferling, from which the collectors say that they have retained 20 shillings, and given them to William Hostius, and to Ralph de Pomario, whose duty it was to convey the geld [or tax] to the King's Treasury at Winchester." Now the amount of the tax was to be computed, as I have already said, at the rate of 72 pennies or six shillings upon every hide of land (*i.e.*, about 120 acres). And as the value of money at that time is reckoned at 30 times its present value, it will follow that the sum retained by the collectors for each hundred will be equivalent to $[6s. \times 30 = 180s.]$ £9 of our money, and the payment to those who carried the tax to Winchester will be $[20s. \times 30 = 600s.]$ £30, or £15 each. But there is a still more interesting entry at the close of the returns for the hundreds of the county of Somerset, inasmuch as it gives the whole amount of the tax paid from that county to the King, and the expenses in detail which attended the collection. It runs thus:—"From

* It has been suggested that the word is equivalent to "Fee-gatherers."

Somerset the King has for his geld £509 in his Treasury at Winchester, and those who carried it to Winchester had 40s. for their travelling expenses, &c., and what between hiring pack-horses, (*i.e.*, to carry the treasure), and employing a scribe (*i.e.*, to write out the account) and purchasing forels (covers, I suppose, or cases for the book in which it was all entered) and wax (*i.e.*, to seal it up and make all secure) they spent 9s. 8d. And out of £1 1s. 3d., which the bearers of the geld received, the King had not a penny; and they were not able to render a correct account. This sum they pledged themselves that they would pay to the King's Commissioners." Now, according to the computation of the value of money, as stated above, the account for the county of Somerset will stand thus:—

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
509	0	0	15,270	0	0	—Amount of tax from that county.
40	0	0	60	0	0	—Costs of conveyance.
9	8	0	14	10	0	—Petty expenses.
			£15,344	10	0	

Money deficient £1 1s. 3d. $\times$ 30 = £31 17s. 6d.

Then after the returns for the hundreds in each county, follow in their order the returns for the several manors included in them. The above particulars we owe entirely to the "Exon Domesday." Its most striking feature, however, in which it uniformly supplies us with additional information to that in the Exchequer Domesday, is the enumeration of live-stock upon every estate, in which it gives the number of oxen, sheep, goats, horses, and swine kept on it, and in this matter it agrees with the Ely Book. Such an enumeration, you will remember, was in accordance with the strict requirements of the King's Commission ordering the Survey, and at which the historian I quoted above took such umbrage. But all this is omitted in the Great Survey, and for obvious reasons. The live-stock was altering every day and year, and the enumeration thereof could be of no further use than for the time when the survey was made. The Exon Domesday contains also a vast quantity of other matter, which it would have

been needless to enter in a record of statistical details in the matter of taxation, and title to property; but which is of very great value for the elucidation of the history, the customs, and characteristics of landed property in those times.

Reverting now to the abstract of the returns from the kingdom, which constitutes the Exchequer Domesday, I find that the number of the chief holders of land, or tenants in capite in this county (having, of course, numerous persons holding land under them), is entered at no more than 53, including the Conqueror himself, two Bishops, of whom the Bishop of Exeter was one, ten Abbey Churches, including those of Rouen and Caen, the rest, barons and others, all of course foreigners, among whom the conquered soil was divided. But the most remarkable among these chief holders was Geoffrey of Mowbray, Bishop of Coutance, in Normandy, who was also a soldier. He held no fewer than 96 separate estates in Devon, besides numerous others in 12 other counties, in all 280 manors. Mr. Freeman, the historian, speaks of him as "The famous Bishop of Coutance, who exhorted the Norman host before the battle of Hastings, and had asked their assent to the crowning of their Duke within the walls of Westminster. His lands and lordships reached well nigh into every corner of England." No wonder that he should have been so handsomely rewarded, as he was the principal agent in obtaining the crown for the Conqueror. Again, among the Ecclesiastical Corporations appears the Abbey Church of Rouen in Normandy, which held of the King the extensive manor of Ottery. This manor was purchased in 1335 by Bishop Grandisson of the Dean and Chapter of Rouen as an endowment for the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in Ottery, founded in 1337 by that munificent Bishop. I mention this because it explains and illustrates the fact of the continued intercourse between the Church of Rouen and that of Exeter, which so often appears in the records of our Cathedral.

Another matter of interest in the Exchequer Domesday is the account it gives of the population at the time of the survey, in 1086. But this must, of course, be but an imperfect

record of it, as the returns had mainly to deal with the owners and occupiers of the land, and the agricultural population in general—that of the towns and cities being for the most part omitted—inasmuch as the object of the survey was the ascertaining of the geld or tax on the land. Still, as far as it goes, it is interesting, and it is considered to be probably a fair record of that portion of the population. Sir H. Ellis has given complete catalogues for the several counties, under their different occupations in life. The number for the whole of England, as summed up by him, is only 283,242, and that for the county of Devon 17,434. It must strike one at once that this must have been considerably below the whole population either of the country or of the county.

It is time now that I should give you one or two specimens of the entries in our Exon Domesday. The first I take is a portion of the return of the episcopal property in Crediton, then held by Osbern, the second Bishop of Exeter, a Norman by nation, who presided over the See from 1072 to 1103. It runs thus:—"Osbern, the Bishop holds a manor, which is called Crediton, which paid geld in the time of King Edward for 15 hides (about 1,800 acres) of land. These can be ploughed by 185 teams. Of these the Bishop holds in demesne six hides and 13 carrucates, and the soldiers (possibly military retainers) and villans between them hold nine hides and 172 carrucates. The Bishop has there 264 villans, and 73 bordarii (or cottagers), and 40 serfs, and 30 porcarii (owners and keepers of swine in the woodlands), who paid as rent 150 pigs a year, also four horses (roncinos), 63 oxen, 57 swine, and 400 sheep, less 12. (388), and 115 goats. Also one mill, which pays in rent 30 pence a year (£3 15s. od., at the present value of money), and woodland five leugæ (seven-and-a-half miles) in length, and half a leuga (three quarters of a mile) in breadth, 80 acres of meadow, and 200 acres of pasture land. And it is valued at £75 (£2,250 in our money value) a year. When the Bishop succeeded to it, it paid as tax £21 (£630

at the present value). With this manor the Bishop claims" (and over the word 'claims' is written the more correct word 'holds,' as is clear from what follows) "a manor which is called Newenton. One Domnus is the tenant here, and it paid tax for three hides." It goes on thus :—"As regards this manor, Osbern exhibited (*i.e.*, to the Commissioners) his Charters, which prove that his Church was seized in it before King Edward began to reign." (This is clear, because at that time the Bishop held his See at Crediton, from whence Leofric was translated to Exeter in 1050, which was the eighth year of the Confessor's reign.) "And the Bishop also says, that in the time of King William (at the period of the Conquest), he pleaded concerning this estate, and proved his case by the testimony of the Frenchmen of his retinue that it was his own, and it is valued at £3" (£90 of our money). Now if I read to you the entry made in the Exchequer Domesday relative to this manor, you will notice the variations from the return made by the Provincial Commissioners, and especially the omission of the amount of stock on the manor. That entry is as follows :—"The Bishop himself holds Crediton. —In the time of King Edward it paid tax for 15 hides of land, and for 185 carrucates. He holds in demesne six hides, and 13 carrucates there, 40 serfs, 264 villans, 73 bordarii, with 172 carrucates. There are there 30 swineherds paying as rent 150 pigs, and a mill paying 30 pence, also 80 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture land, a wood 5 leagues in length and half a league in breadth. Its value formerly was £21, now £75." (So the manor had increased in value £54 from the time the Bishop succeeded to it, 14 years before the survey.) "With this manor the same Bishop holds Newton, and pays tax for three hides. In relation to this manor, Osbern the Bishop exhibited his Charters which prove that the Church of S. Peter was seized in it before the reign of King Edward. In addition to this, in the time of King William he proved before the King's barons that it belonged to him. Its value is £3. Domno is the tenant."

There are three other short extracts which I will refer

to touching Exeter, Lidford, and Barnstaple, of which the returns made by the Provincial Commissioners are entered word for word in the General Domesday. (1) As to Exeter:—"In the city of Exeter the King has 300 houses less 15, rendering custom. This amounts to £18 a year (*i.e.*, £540). From this Sheriff Baldwin receives six pounds (£180) weighed and assayed (*i.e.*, corrected by melting in the fire at the time of payment, where the coins were defective in weight and fineness). And Colvin has £12 (*i.e.*, £360) by tale (*i.e.*, counted out) in services belonging to Queen Edith. (She was the Confessor's Queen). In this city 48 houses have been laid waste since the King came to England." This destruction of houses took place in the process of the 18 days' siege of the city in 1067 by the King's troops, and in the removal of houses for the erection of the castle of Rougemont. The entry goes on thus:—"The city in the time of King Edward paid no geld, unless when London and York and Winchester did so, and this was half a mark of silver for the use of the soldiers (*i.e.*, the King's body guard or housecarls)." This mention of Exeter in such company marks the high position which it held among the cities of England. "When an expedition went forth by land or sea, this city did military service for as much as five hides of land. Barnstaple, however, and Lidford and Totnes did service for as much as this city. The burgesses of Exeter have without the city land for twelve ploughs, which pays no custom except to the city itself" (thus proving its corporate character at the time). Sheriff Baldwin mentioned above was related to the Conqueror; he was one of his generals at Hastings, and was granted the manor and barony of Okehampton and its castle, together with the Shrievalty of Devon, in which county alone more than 180 manors are recorded in the Domesday as belonging to him—filling 11 columns in that record. Besides this, he had the command of the Castle of Exeter, which he built by the King's order after the surrender of the city in 1067. (2) Of Lidford it is said that "King Edward held that borough in demesne; that there were 28 burgesses within the borough, and 41 without (69 in all), rendering to the King 60s. (*i.e.*, £90 of our money);

that 40 houses had been laid waste there since the King came to England, and that for military or naval expeditions the amount of service due from Lidford was the same as from Barnstaple and Totnes. (3) In the borough of Barnstaple (held also by the King) there were 40 burgesses within, and 9 without the borough (49 in all)." (Lidford therefore at that time was more populous than Barnstaple); "It paid to the King 40s. (£60), and to the Bishop of Coutance 20s. (£30), and 23 houses had been laid waste in it since the arrival of the King." Observe the exceedingly mild language in which the invasion and conquest of England, and all its attendant circumstances, are here spoken of by the Conqueror's Commissioners—in all these entries the words are "since the King came to England." This devastation of houses marks the course of the Conqueror's advance, and the heavy destruction which attended it. As no destruction of houses is spoken of in the other Devonshire towns, it would seem that these three places, Exeter (which yielded to the seige in 1067), Barnstaple, and Lidford were special scenes of resistance to his progress in his conquest of the west of England.

I add a few words as to the use and consequences of this Great Survey, and its authority in Courts of Law, and this latter especially, because we have in our Chapter Archives more than one proof of that authority having been appealed to some centuries after its completion in 1087. As to the first point, Sir H. Ellis says, that "by its completion the King acquired an exact knowledge of the possessions of the Crown. It afforded him the names of the landholders. It furnished him with the means of knowing the military strength of the country, and it pointed out the possibility of increasing the revenue in some cases, and of lessening the demands of the tax collectors in others. It was moreover a register of appeal for those whose titles to their property might be disputed." This is his summary regarding its use. In the entries in the Survey, the tax as paid in the days of the Confessor is generally called by the word "geld." It was a tax imposed as early as the

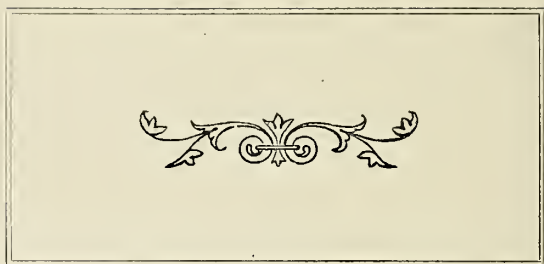
reign of Elthelred the Unready (who reigned from 978—1013), having been employed for a long period either in buying peace with the Danes, or in making preparations against the inroads of that hostile nation. Edward the Confessor had absolved the English from the payment of the tax, but it was revived at an early period of William's reign, and by this Survey, at the close of his reign, he was enabled to fix the proportion of the levy upon the property of each landholder.

Lastly, I remark on its authority as a register of appeal in the case of disputed title. Such appeals occur at a very early period, and several instances are given by Sir H. Ellis. But what will interest you most on this point is the fact that records of two such appeals exist in our Chapter Archives, and I should think there must be some to be found among the Guildhall documents also. My attention was drawn to the two I have referred to by the valuable index of our Archives made by Mr. Stuart Moore, which enabled me to put my hand at once on the deeds. The date of the first is A.D. 1313, in the sixth year of Edward II., 227 years after the date of the Survey; and by it Walter de Stapledon, the fifteenth Bishop of Exeter, established his right to certain lands belonging to him in the parish of Stoke Canon. After the usual preamble, he says in the deed:—"By the tenor of these presents we make known that in the accredited book, commonly called *Domus Dei*, kept in the treasury of our illustrious master the King of England, permission having been given to examine it, we find it thus written in that book touching us and our church at Exeter." [Then he quotes the exact words of the entry.] And he ends thus:—"And that this may not be called in question by any one, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be set forth, signed with our seal. Given at Peynton on the 7th day before the Kalends of January, 1313," i.e., on the 24th December, 1312. The second is a deed of *Inspeximus*, as it was called, and related to a contention which had arisen in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VI., A.D., 1449, between the burgesses of Exeter and the Bishop

(this was Edmund Lacy, who held the See from A.D. 1420-1455), concerning certain messuages in the parish of St. Stephen in this city, an appurtenance to the Bishopric. The burgesses laid claim to certain rights in the tee and preferred their claim on the ground of the city of Exeter being an ancient demesne of the Crown. Appeal was made to the King in Chancery, and to settle the dispute the King ordered a search to be made of the "Domesday." The result of that search was that the said messuages were not, as asserted, vested in the Crown, but in the Bishop. And the proof adduced was the entry in Domesday of the possessions of the Bishop, which is nearly word for word the same as that in the "Exeter Domesday." I will read you the latter, as being somewhat the fuller entry:—"The Bishop has in Exeter one Church (I presume this stands for parish) which pays one mark of silver yearly. Also, 47 houses—and of these houses ten pay 10s. 10d. for custom (*i.e.*, £16 5s. according to our money-value); two of them are destroyed by fire (no doubt these were two of the 48 destroyed in Exeter, of which we heard above); also 2½ acres of land, which lie contiguous to the land of the burgesses, who belong to the Church" (*i.e.*, who lived in the parish). These possessions, of course, have now passed away from the Bishop, but he still retains the patronage of the Benefice.

I must now close with many thanks for the patient attention you have given me. I am afraid you will think that I have set before you little else than dry details, but the subject hardly admitted of any other mode of treatment. Yet I hope that even these have not been uninteresting or unacceptable to the members and friends of a Literary Society. I will only add that Mr. Freeman, the distinguished historian of the Norman Conquest, promises us in his 5th volume* a full examination of the "Domesday," including the Provincial Domesdays also, which will be a rich treat to all who are interested in these ancient and most valuable records of our national and social history.

* This volume has been published since the delivery of the Lecture.



NOTE ON PART II., p. 11.

Since this Lecture was given, the second part of Dr. Hickes' "Ancient Northern Literature," which had been displaced, has turned up in the Cathedral Library. It contains the Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon MSS. in the Libraries of England, by Humphrey Wanley, dated A.D. 1705.

Those in the Archives of the Dean and Chapter are enumerated and described in pp. 279—282, and specially the several entries in the fly-leaves bound up with the "Exeter MS."

Among these entries, (some in Latin, but the larger number in Anglo-Saxon) are the following, which may be interesting, as illustrative, in some particulars, of the times to which they belong, viz., the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. The numbers given are those in Wanley's Catalogue:—

	NO.
(i.) Records of Bequests, with the names of Testators and Legatees, of Lands left, "ab omni querelâ immunes," free from all dispute as to title, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 17. The last is a bequest from William Warelwast, the third Blshop of Exeter, to one Wulfric, "cognomento Pig."	
(ii.) A permission given by Osbern, the second Bishop of Exeter, to the Monks of S. Nicholas, as to the ringing of their Bells	15
(iii.) Certificates of purchase of Lands	29, 30
(iv.) An entry relative to a complaint in the matter of an emancipated female serf	12
(v.) RECORDS OF THE EMANCIPATION OF SERFS:—	
(1.) The certificate by the Chapter of Exeter as to Rand Avenel, emancipated in the year 1143. (<i>See above, p. 13</i>)	4
(2.) Certificate of the emancipation of one Athelwius, "in the monastery of S. Peter"	10
(3.) Certificate of the Chapter of Exeter, as to the manumission of one Spileman, made before Wm. Warelwast, third Bishop of Exeter, and others	14
(4.) Certificate of the manumission of a serf and his children by one "Folcard, at the time when Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, consecrated the Porch of S. Mary," probably of the original Cathedral Church	24

	NO.
(5.) Certificate of the emancipation of a female serf and her children by her Master, for the sum of 30 pence= $\pounds$ 3 15s. of our money	25
(6.) Certificate of the emancipation of a female serf by her cousin, for the sum of 24 pence= $\pounds$ 3	33
(vi.) CERTIFICATES OF PURCHASES OF SERFS :—	
(1.) Of a female for the sum of 10 shillings= $\pounds$ 15	11
(2.) Of a male, whom one "Bruningus purchased as free, and exempt from the carrying of arrows." I suppose, exempt from military service	18
(3.) Of two brothers for 7 mancsi	19
(4.) Of a female purchased by a Londoner and his wife, for 64 pence= $\pounds$ 8	20
(5.) Of a female for 5 shillings= $\pounds$ 7 10s.	21
(6.) Of a male for . . do. . . do.	22
(vii.) CERTIFICATES OF PURCHASES BY SERFS OF THEIR OWN FREEDOM :	
(1.) By a male for 10 shillings= $\pounds$ 15	23
(2.) By a male for 40 pence= $\pounds$ 5	26
(3.) By a male, who freed himself and his children in the Church of S. James, for half a pound= $\pounds$ 15	27
(4.) By a female of herself and her children for 24 pence= $\pounds$ 3	28
(viii.) Entries of Religious Guilds (<i>see above</i> , p. 12)	31, 32, 33, 34
(ix.) A Table of Contents of the Exeter MS. (<i>see above</i> , p. 11)	

Wanley also describes (p. 82) the Missal of Leofric, now in the Bodleian Library (*see above*, p. 10), and states that bound up with it are fly-leaves, containing several Certificates of Manumission of Serfs, which were entered in the Book (according to the custom of the time), as public records of the same (*see above*, p. 13, note).



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